

The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1896)

VOL. XVI

TORONTO, MARCH, 1935

No. 1

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Provincial Archives in Canada

BY GEORGE W. BROWN - - - - - 1

Canada as a Factor in Anglo-American Relations of the 1860's

BY REGINALD G. TROTTER - - - - - 19

The Relations of Governor and Intendant in the Old Régime

BY H. M. THOMAS - - - - - 27

The Beginnings of Nova Scotian Politics, 1758-1766

BY W. S. MACNUTT - - - - - 41

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Journal of William Richardson who Visited Labrador in 1771

Edited by SIDNEY C. RICHARDSON - - - - - 54

Some Further Material on Peter Pond

BY H. A. INNIS - - - - - 61

REVIEW ARTICLE

The Imperial Problem in the Minds of Chamberlain and His Successors

BY EDGAR MCINNIS - - - - - 65

REVIEWS OF BOOKS (see next page) - - - - - 71

CORRESPONDENCE

The Partition of Nova Scotia - - - - - 91

NOTES AND COMMENTS - - - - - 94

LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA - - - 99

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

WHITELAW, <i>The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation</i> : by Chester Martin	71
<i>Report of the Royal Commission, Provincial Economic Inquiry; Appendices; A submission on dominion-provincial relations and the fiscal disabilities of Nova Scotia within the Canadian federation</i> presented by NORMAN McL. ROGERS: by J. A. Maxwell	75
WEBSTER, <i>Acadia at the end of the seventeenth century</i> : by A. G. Doughty	77
ROY, <i>Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1932-1933</i> : by Donald J. Pierce	80
LICHTENBERGER, <i>Montcalm et la tragédie canadienne</i> : by Gustave Lanctot	82
SHERWOOD, <i>American colonists in English records</i> : by the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell	82
CROUSE, <i>The search for the Northwest Passage</i> : by Lawrence J. Burpee	83
BOND, <i>The civilization of the Old Northwest</i> : by George W. Brown	84
SULLIVAN, <i>The travels of Jedediah Smith</i> : by His Honour Judge F. W. Howay	85
HEDGES, <i>The federal railway land subsidy policy of Canada</i> ; GATES, <i>The Illinois Central Railway and its colonization work</i> : by R. G. Riddell	86
JEFFERYS, <i>Canada's past in pictures</i> : by Reginald G. Trotter	88
KENNEDY, <i>Essays in constitutional law</i> : by Robert A. MacKay	89
RASMUSSEN, <i>The Netsilik Eskimos; The Utku-hikjalingmiut</i> : by T. F. McIlwraith	89

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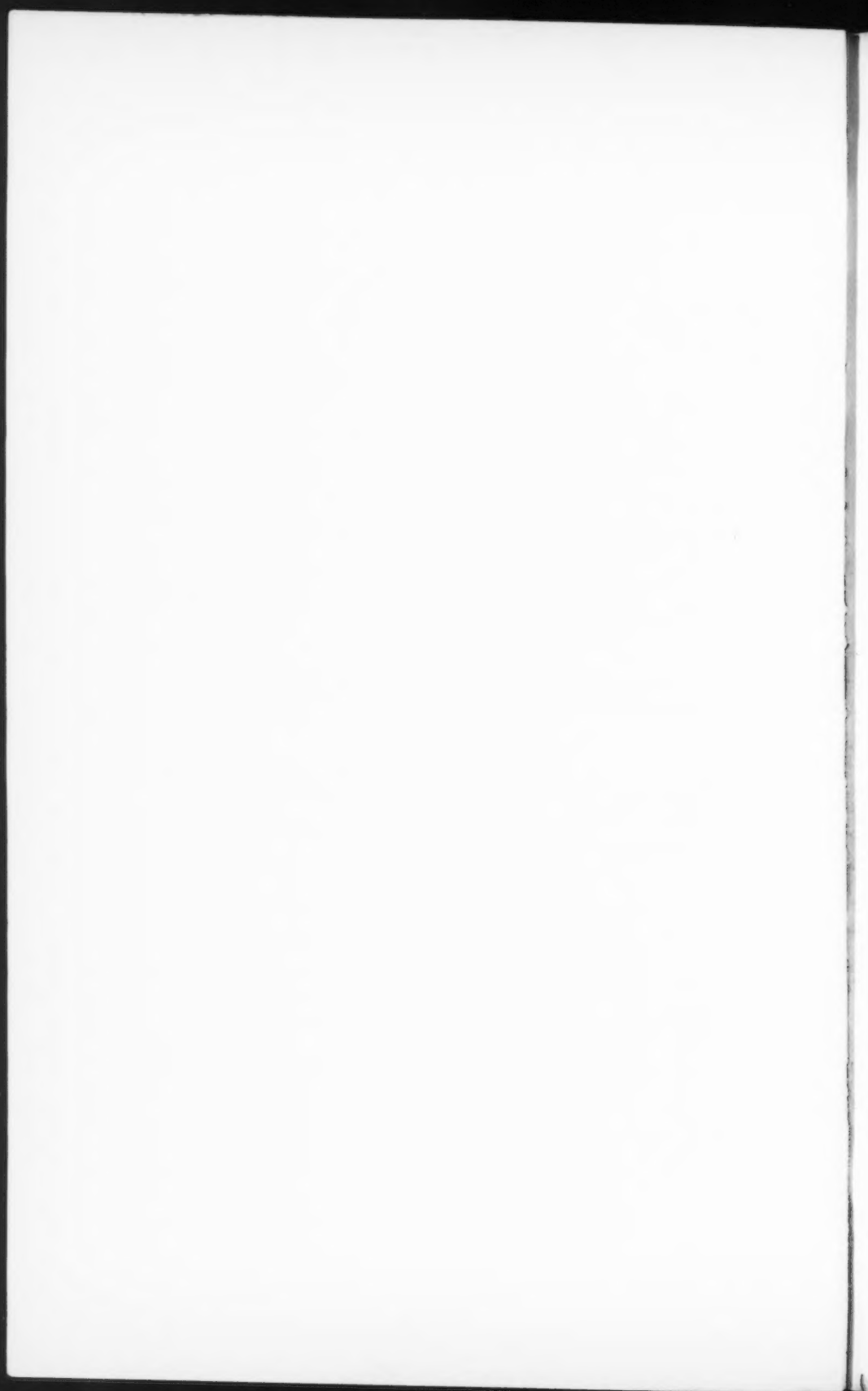


TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME XVI, 1935

NO. 1. MARCH

ARTICLES

<i>Provincial Archives in Canada</i>	
By GEORGE W. BROWN - - - - -	1
<i>Canada as a Factor in Anglo-American Relations of the 1860's</i>	
By REGINALD G. TROTTER - - - - -	19
<i>The Relations of Governor and Intendant in the Old Régime</i>	
By H. M. THOMAS - - - - -	27
<i>The Beginnings of Nova Scotian Politics, 1758-1766</i>	
By W. S. MACNUTT - - - - -	41

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

<i>Journal of William Richardson who Visited Labrador in 1771</i>	
Edited by SIDNEY C. RICHARDSON - - - - -	54
<i>Some Further Material on Peter Pond</i>	
By H. A. INNIS - - - - -	61

REVIEW ARTICLE

<i>The Imperial Problem in the Minds of Chamberlain and His Successors</i>	
By EDGAR MCINNIS - - - - -	65

REVIEWS OF BOOKS - - - - -	71
----------------------------	----

CORRESPONDENCE

<i>The Partition of Nova Scotia</i> - - - - -	91
---	----

NOTES AND COMMENTS - - - - -	94
------------------------------	----

LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA - - -	99
--	----

NO. 2. JUNE

ARTICLES

<i>Agriculture and War in Canada, 1740-1760</i>	
By JEAN ELIZABETH LUNN - - - - -	123
<i>The Political Career of Adam Mabane</i>	
By HILDA NEATBY - - - - -	137
<i>Nova Scotia's Admiralty Court as a Problem of Colonial Administration</i>	
By LIONEL H. LAING - - - - -	151

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

<i>Governor Murray's Views on the Plan of 1764 for the Management of Indian Affairs</i>	
Edited by R. A. HUMPHREYS - - - - -	162
<i>Sitting Bull's Own Narrative of the Custer Fight</i>	
Edited by WALTER N. SAGE - - - - -	170
<i>The Daltons and The Patriot</i>	
By RAYMOND CARD - - - - -	176

REVIEW ARTICLE

<i>Canada and Foreign Affairs</i>	
By G. deT. GLAZEBROOK - - - - -	179

REVIEWS OF BOOKS - - - - -	191
----------------------------	-----

NOTES AND COMMENTS - - - - -	217
------------------------------	-----

LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA - - -	224
--	-----

No. 3. SEPTEMBER

ARTICLES

<i>The Grit Party and the Great Reform Convention of 1859</i>	
By GEORGE W. BROWN - - - - -	245
<i>Queen Anne and "The Four Kings of Canada": A Bibliography of Contemporary Sources</i>	
By FRED A. WALDON - - - - -	266
<i>The Reception of Lord Durham's Report in the English Press</i>	
By GRACE FOX - - - - -	276

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

<i>Some Letters of Joshua R. Giddings on Reciprocity</i>	
By WILLIAM D. OVERMAN - - - - -	289
<i>Proposals to Transfer the French Population of Canada to Louisiana</i>	
By E. WILSON LYON - - - - -	296
<i>Graduate Theses in Canadian History, Economics, and Law</i>	300

REVIEW ARTICLE

<i>Annual Survey of Books on the Constitutional and Administrative Law of the British Commonwealth</i>	
By W. P. M. KENNEDY - - - - -	309

REVIEWS OF BOOKS - - - - -	318
----------------------------	-----

NOTES AND COMMENTS - - - - -	340
------------------------------	-----

LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA - - -	345
--	-----

No. 4. DECEMBER

ARTICLES

<i>The Development of National Political Parties in Canada</i>	
By FRANK H. UNDERHILL - - - - -	367
<i>The First Introduction of European Plants and Animals into Canada</i>	
By R. M. SAUNDERS - - - - -	388

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

<i>The National Archives of the United States</i>	407
<i>Sir Edmund Head's Memorandum on the Choice of Ottawa as the Seat of Government of Canada</i>	
Edited by JAMES A. GIBSON - - - - -	411

REVIEWS OF BOOKS - - - - -	418
----------------------------	-----

CORRESPONDENCE - - - - -	451
--------------------------	-----

NOTES AND COMMENTS

<i>Archives and Libraries, Canadian Historical Societies, etc.</i>	453
--	-----

LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA - -	460
--	-----

INDEX TO VOLUME XVI - - - - -	481
-------------------------------	-----

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PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES IN CANADA

IN the issue of this journal of September last there appeared a short article stressing the value of provincial archives and making a strong plea for the support and extension of their work. Copies of the article were sent to men in public life and other persons in the various provinces. An encouraging interest was shown, and a decision was therefore made that there should be printed as soon as possible a description of the present situation with regard to archives work in each province. This article is the result. To its preparation a number of people have contributed by supplying information, and their help is greatly appreciated. The writer, however, takes responsibility for the material and, in particular, for the opinions which are expressed.

A careful attempt has been made, without providing too many details, to give an accurate impression of the present situation in each province. As far as the writer knows, information with regard to all the provinces has not previously been brought together in this way. Comparisons are not necessarily odious, and a useful purpose will be served by informing interested people throughout the dominion as to what is being done in provinces other than their own.

It will be observed in reading the appended notes that there are provinces in which the archives is playing an essential part in the cultural and educational life of the community and is widely appreciated by the public at large, while at the same time there are other provinces in which little or nothing is being done. The REVIEW desires to do what it can to strengthen the hands of all those who wish to see archives work supported and extended. There are in every province societies, government officials, or private individuals who are keenly interested. In some instances they are doing what they can in spite of the insuperable obstacles of lack of funds and general indifference.

The first step towards any improvement is a frank realization of the facts. The truth is that, while certain provinces have just cause for congratulation on the work that is being done, the situation in the dominion as a whole is far from what it should be and in certain respects it is lamentable. We deplore past neglect and wanton destruction of irreplaceable records. What would we not give for the books and papers burned in the parliament buildings in Montreal in 1849, or early records of the Cunard Company or of the Canada Company burned as junk? These are not isolated instances of irreparable loss. The list could be extended indefinitely for every province. It takes no argument to persuade the average citizen as to the magnitude of these losses to the community. We can all agree in damning the inexcusable folly and negligence of our predecessors. But the truth is that we are scarcely less guilty than they. Indeed, in some respects we are more guilty. We have resources which they lacked in fire-proof buildings or cheap and effective methods, such as photography, for copying and preserving valuable materials, and yet we go on inviting and suffering irreparable losses. The parliamentary library at Ottawa, whose contents are a national asset and could not be replaced, is housed in a building, which however beautiful and interesting architecturally, is, with its interior of varnished pine, nothing less than a fire-trap. In the various provinces the records in government departments, in municipal buildings such as court-houses, in churches, and other private institutions are in many cases no better off. Scattered throughout the dominion are public and private collections, great and small, of irreplaceable materials which daily run the hazard of destruction by fire and which meanwhile are exposed even in attics and cellars to a process of slow destruction by rats and mice, dust and dampness, even rain and snow. We have, it is true, put a great deal of material beyond the hazard of such conditions but there is still a vast treasure of historical records for which the description above is, unfortunately, not a whit exaggerated. Our capacity on the platform and in the press to pay lip service to the interest and importance of history seems unlimited. Let us beware, while we make fine speeches, lest, at the same time, we neglect the essential foundations on which a true appreciation of Canadian history must rest.

The provincial archives have a rôle which cannot be filled by other institutions. If provincial archives are ineffective or non-existent, the result is that the work is not being done as it should

be or is not being done at all. In the keeping of the provinces, for example, are great masses of material having to do with the disposition of lands and other natural resources from the first days of settlement to the present. The provinces are morally, at least, responsible to themselves and to the people of the whole dominion to see that these essential records of Canada's development are not neglected. Some of this material is already in archives. All of it will eventually be archival material, and should be transferred after a suitable lapse of years from the individual departments of government to an archives, where it can be classified and preserved. It will there be readily accessible for consultation by departmental officials. A striking illustration of provincial responsibility is afforded by the shipment to the Prairie Provinces of the papers dealing with the natural resources which have been transferred from dominion to provincial control. These papers from the department of the interior in Ottawa are being divided among three provinces. It is safe to say that without them the history of western Canada since Confederation cannot be written. Consultation of them would, moreover, aid in the solution of many a practical problem of vital importance to the west, and their careful preservation is therefore of the greatest importance, if only for pocket-book reasons. This illustration is taken from the west but similar arguments might be found in every province.

It is not only with regard to records in the possession of provincial governments that a provincial archives must play an essential rôle. In each province there are masses of materials in municipal buildings, court-houses, private institutions, and in the hands of individuals. It is not argued that all of this is worthy of preservation, much less that it should be gathered into one centre. That would be impossible even if it were desirable. In each province there should, however, be a survey to reveal the extent and character of these materials. There should be a policy with regard to public documents, and there should also be a general understanding that individuals who wish assistance and advice in the preservation of private papers may receive help. Only through a provincial archives can these needs be effectively met.

New, cheap, and effective methods of preserving material, and especially those of photography which were described briefly by the REVIEW in September last, open up great opportunities for the extension of archives work. It would be possible, for example, to have depositories of material at various points in a province. Supervision, or in the case of private collections, advice and assist-

ance, could be given by the archives. Essential documents could be photographed and a film kept in the provincial archives. Permanent preservation could thus be secured, and the materials could be made accessible to inquirers while at the same time the local community could retain the documents in its possession. Such depositories and collections might well be a legitimate source of local pride; they would provide inspiration and opportunity for local historical societies which are sometimes at a loss to know what useful work may be done; they might be used to stimulate historical interest in schools where the use of the text-book alone now creates the impression that history is remote and unreal. Classes of school children now visit museums or art galleries where interest is keenly aroused—very often in the history and achievements of lands remote in time and place. Why should they not similarly be interested in collections of material illustrating the development of their own communities?

The writer wishes to emphasize the value of enlisting, by the efforts of provincial archives, the support of local communities through their historical societies or other agencies. Local communities cannot be blamed if they display a lack of enthusiasm in collecting historical records merely for the purpose of sending them to a central depository, even if it is no farther away than the provincial capital. But, if the provincial archives were to assist the local agencies in gathering and organizing local records, and, at the same time, were to obtain a film reproduction of important materials for its own collection, the advantages of centralization and decentralization might be combined as has never been possible in the past. A striking illustration of possibilities along this line is provided by the newspapers of a century ago. In numerous places are to be found broken files or single copies of early newspapers of Upper Canada, for example. They cannot be collected in one place, and their present dispersion often makes them inaccessible to students. In any case, frequent handling of them results in damage. Collection in one place of a photographic record of all known copies would overcome all these difficulties, while at the same time leaving prized possessions in the hands of their present owners or custodians.

There are, of course, many other possibilities of developing co-operation between local agencies and archives besides those presented by photography. It is offered merely as an illustration. An eminent authority in Canadian history has suggested to the REVIEW the formation of a local records society for the publication

of essential materials. A great work is being done by such means in England, and, if the idea were adapted to Canadian conditions, a permanent contribution of the greatest value could be made to the advancement of Canadian history. There are over sixty historical societies throughout the dominion. The notes published in each issue of the REVIEW show that many of them are doing admirable service in collecting historical documents, in establishing and sustaining local museums, and in other ways. What a work would be accomplished if all agencies, local and national, which are interested in conserving and making useful the records of the past could be combined in an effort of effective co-operation! We do not want regimentation. It is neither necessary nor desirable. What we do want is the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility which come with the conviction that each agency is contributing in its own way to the accomplishment of a common task. There is an honourable place and more than enough work for everyone, from the smallest society to the largest repositories in the dominion. In the opinion of the writer, it is impossible to promote effectively such an effort of co-operation without the assistance of provincial archives.

In developing archives in the provinces the Public Archives at Ottawa should provide inspiration and illustration of what may be done. During the past thirty years, under the guidance of Dr. Doughty, the dominion archives has made to Canada a contribution, the value of which is simply beyond estimation. Not only has a very great collection of priceless historical records been acquired and made accessible to scholars, but the archives, through the genius of Dr. Doughty, has become a treasure-house of pictures and exhibits which attract annually thousands of visitors. Nothing succeeds in the long run but success, and so it is that, through the demonstration of its own value, the dominion archives has justified in the public mind every expenditure of effort and money that has been put into it. Provincial archives, if given a fair chance, may be relied upon to produce the same result in their own field.

It should be clearly understood that the dominion, and the provincial, archives have each a work to do that cannot be done by the others. We hear much condemnation in these days of duplication of government services, and properly so. But there is no such duplication in this case. The dominion archives, because of the nature of its materials and for other reasons, has a service to perform that is outside the scope of the provinces.

It must be given all the support, financial and otherwise, that it deserves. Similarly, the provincial archives have their own distinctive loyalties and interests to serve and their own materials to guard. Strong dominion and provincial institutions, if directed always with a realization of the magnitude of the work to be done, should, and in the opinion of the writer would, strengthen and supplement each other.

What are the practical steps which may be taken at the present time? The conditions vary in the different provinces and no extended analysis of the problem is here possible. A few general observations may, however, be made.

Little improvement can be expected unless societies and interested individuals will do what they can. Where archives are already effectively organized, the value of their work must be kept before the public. Where little or nothing is being accomplished, it must be persistently urged that a beginning should be made—perhaps by the appointment of a manuscripts board or in some other way. In particular, the problem must be brought to the attention of political leaders and others in important public positions. Little can be done unless the support of governments is obtained. Men responsible for the expenditure of public funds must needs be interested in utilitarian arguments and such arguments should not be neglected. Social and economic problems are everywhere being forced on the attention of governments. It should be pointed out that the records of the development of communities great and small are going to be of increasing and essential importance in providing information on which sound policy and administration must rest.

We cannot expect largely increased expenditure on archives at the present time, although it may be observed that a neglect of archives work is by no means the product of the depression. An expenditure of a few thousands, even hundreds, of dollars would, however, in cases where little or nothing is being done, make possible a definite advance. Where archives work is left to a provincial librarian, or other official who is overburdened with the routine of other duties, little or no attention to the problem can be expected. Every province has keen young graduates, well-trained, and frequently unable to find employment. One of these appointed to spend his entire time on archives work, would, under the direction of a librarian or voluntary manuscripts board, repay tenfold the small expenditure required.

The REVIEW would welcome any opportunity of making a con-

tribution to archives work throughout the dominion. It will gladly publish items of information on what is being done. It urges the importance of the problem on all its readers, and it sincerely hopes that this article will provide a stimulus and encouragement for those who wish to see an improvement in the present situation.

ALBERTA

There is no department of archives in Alberta, such work as has been done having been carried on by the provincial library at Edmonton, of which Mr. Colin F. Groff is at present acting librarian. The archival materials in the library are not extensive. They include: several journals of individuals (among them that of Wm. Rundle, first missionary in what is now Alberta, 1840-8), and several Hudson's Bay Company journals (among them those of Fort Chipewyan, 1822-4, and Fort Edmonton, 1854-6); files of the Saskatchewan *Herald*, 1878-1905, *Macleod Gazette*, 1882-1902 (broken), *Edmonton Bulletin*, 1882; some interviews obtained from early settlers; a collection of photographs dating back to 1873; records and printed papers deposited by some historical societies; and a complete set of annual reports of the various departments of government.

Archives work was established in 1920 and a small grant of money was provided. In recent years the grant has been discontinued and the work suspended.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

The legislative library was reorganized in 1893-4, and the plans of the new librarian included provision for the collection and preservation of the archives of the province. In 1908 the existence of the archives was first recognized officially, an archivist appointed, and a special appropriation provided. In 1910 the legislative librarian assumed the duties of the archivist, but the library and archives continued to receive separate appropriations, and were administered by different government departments. They were finally united in 1919, as the Provincial Library and Archives, under the direction of a provincial librarian and archivist. The library and archives are supported by a single appropriation in the department of the provincial secretary, and no specific amount or proportion of the vote is set aside for the archives. In addition to the annual appropriation, special grants have been secured from time to time for the purchase of important collections of archives material.

In the archives department it is estimated that there are about 60,000 manuscripts. These include long and fairly complete sets of early official records, and an immense number of private papers—letters, diaries, and the like—as well as much miscellaneous material. This is supplemented by an outstanding photographic and print collection, which runs to at least 14,000 items.

The collection of imperial, dominion, and provincial official documents is large, and the newspaper files are undoubtedly the most extensive in the west. They include remarkably complete files of nearly all the papers ever published in British Columbia, together with a few additional items of great value—notably a file of the *London Times* complete since January 1, 1839.

Associated with the archives is the North West History library, which aims to be as complete a collection as possible of printed material bearing upon the north-west in general, and British Columbia in particular. It contains about 14,000 volumes, hundreds of which are rarities. Competent authorities rank this library as one of the three or four finest collections of north-west Americana in existence.

Display cases in the department enable it to exhibit a selection of its treasures. Historical relics and curios, the earliest official commissions and records, old log books and diaries, together with rare editions, *etc.*, compose this museum, which is open to the public free of charge.

New material, both official and private, is constantly being added to the archives. Gaps still exist in the collection of official records, but most of these will be filled in time as the various departments deposit their old papers in the archives. No definite arrangement for the periodical transfer of documents by the departments exists as yet, but there is reason to hope that some such plan will be adopted in the near future.

There is no manuscripts commission but the archivist is assisted very materially by the British Columbia Historical Association, various local organizations, and many friends throughout the province. There are three important collections of material outside the archives—one in the library of the University of British Columbia, and the other two in the private libraries of His Honour Judge F. W. Howay, at New Westminster, and of Mr. Robie L. Reid, K.C., in Vancouver. All three give assistance to students, and willingly co-operate with the archives in every way.

An annual report is submitted to the legislative assembly, but has not been published for many years. The reports presented by the archivist for 1910 and 1913 were included in the sessional papers, but are out of print. The second of these included an appendix of documents of some 130 pages.

Two bulletins and a series of *Memoirs*, which reached its ninth volume in 1931, have been published since 1914. The bulletins are supplied free on application. Copies of the *Memoirs*, except no. 1, which is out of print, may be purchased from the librarian and archivist.

British Columbia has in its archives built up a collection of historical materials which is an asset not only to the province but to the dominion as a whole. Following the death last summer of Mr. John Hosie, who did so much to build up the collections, Mr. W. Kaye Lamb, a graduate of the University of British Columbia and a Ph.D. of London, England, was appointed as librarian and archivist. The REVIEW welcomes this appointment as evidence of the government's desire to continue and extend the work of the archives as effectively as possible.

MANITOBA

The provincial library of Manitoba had its small beginning in 1884. The statute governing the library is entitled "An act respecting the Library and Museum of the Legislature of Manitoba", but the words "museum" and "archives" occur only once: "The books, paintings, statues, maps, archives and museum which are in the possession of the Legislature of Manitoba . . . shall be kept in suitable rooms set apart for the purpose."

The first provincial librarian, J. P. Robertson, did what he could to get together a collection of what may be described as museum material—several cases of stuffed birds, Indian bead-work, *etc.* He also collected what he could of books and manuscripts touching the history of western Canada. The present librarian, Mr. W. J. Healy, was appointed in 1920. A long experience in important journalistic posts had given him a wide knowledge of the west and of Canadian affairs in general.

In the old legislative building, which was pulled down in 1920, the library was crowded into small quarters, and the museum material was bestowed in holes and corners and in the cellar. A strong committee was appointed in 1921 but nothing was done about its report. In 1932, a voluntary organization, the Manitoba Museum Association was formed, and a museum established in the newly completed civic auditorium building. To this museum, the materials from the old legislative building have been turned over on loan.

The archives material in the provincial library is in a book-case in the office of the librarian. The total amount of that material which is in manuscript form occupies about three feet of shelf room. It includes volumes of the old Red River census books for 1838, 1840, 1843, 1847, and 1849; the books of record of the general quarterly court of Assiniboia in November, 1844, 1851, 1863, and 1868; some scores of letters, accounts, and other documents, mostly on single sheets of paper, dated from the Red River time before the establishment of the Province of Manitoba; and several official record books dated from the first decade of provincial history.

A catalogue of the archives material was made in 1916 and printed in the report of the provincial library for that year. Only one copy is known to the librarian. Since then additions have not been considerable. No report of the provincial library has been printed since 1918.

A notable section of the library is its newspaper stackroom, which contains the files of *The nor' wester* from the first issue, dated December 28, 1859. The first gap in the file does not appear until five years later. The first number was the first printing done in the west with the exception of a few little books of religious instruction for the Indians, printed in the early 1840's by James Evans at his mission post near Norway House. A file of *The new nation* is complete from January 7, 1870, to September 3, 1870. It was printed after the flight of Riel and his council on the arrival of the Red River expedition under Colonel Wolseley. It is believed to be the only file in existence, and is extraordinarily interesting in itself, besides being of historical importance. The library also contains bound volumes of the earliest years' issues of the first newspapers printed west of the present Manitoba in such

places as Prince Albert, Battleford, Edmonton, Regina, Qu'Appelle, Calgary, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Moosomin, and Macleod.

The books of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba are now housed in this library and are catalogued. After a considerable period of inactivity, the society, by the efforts of Dr. C. N. Bell, Dr. David A. Stewart, Archbishop Matheson, and others again became active a few years ago. The only full set of its *Transactions*, so far as is known, is that owned by Dr. C. N. Bell.

A system of transferring regularly materials from government departments to the archives after a lapse of years has been proposed but is not in operation. Materials, sent from Ottawa as the result of the transfer of natural resources to provincial control, have been given to the department of mines and natural resources, and distributed among its different branches. The transfer from Ottawa is by no means complete as yet.

NEW BRUNSWICK

There are no provincial archives in New Brunswick and the present condition is one of disorganization so far as archives work is concerned. A very great quantity of exceedingly valuable historical records is to be found in various places throughout the province. Of the government records in Fredericton, those in the department of lands and mines are well preserved, and contain a wealth of the most valuable materials, especially in the land papers. In the vaults of the executive council, the minutes of council meetings are well taken care of and those from 1785 to the present may be readily found. For other government records the situation is not as good. For many years, the REVIEW understands, masses of papers were dumped in attics and similar undesirable places and not much care was taken in the supervision of strangers given access to them. There has been improvement in these respects, but many papers are still kept under conditions which invite irreparable losses from fire and other means of destruction.

The parliamentary library has some manuscripts and a number of valuable books. For many years in a poor condition, it has recently been placed in charge of a good librarian who is keenly interested in collecting and preserving some of the hitherto neglected material, and in endeavouring to complete full sets of government reports. In the same building the library of the Barristers' Society contains a wealth of material on the legal history of New Brunswick and other provinces. Some of it is unique and has proved valuable to students outside the province. The library of the University of New Brunswick, for many years badly housed, has now an excellent fireproof building with a librarian and assistant in charge, who are seeking to gather printed material relating to the province. In this library are a number of early charters, an almost complete file of the *Royal gazette*, and also a number of files of early newspapers in addition to many things referring to the history of the university in particular.

In the education office, Fredericton—a stone building but lined

throughout in early white pine—there are many records dealing with the development of the educational system from 1852 to the present. The major records dealing with administration are stored in a basement vault and well cared for, but it is inadequate to hold all the numerous school return sheets and reports. The attic of this building is a mine of old documents and records.

There are several valuable collections outside Fredericton. The Fisher memorial library in Woodstock has important materials relating to the district and housed in a good building; the public library of Saint John has very extensive newspaper files running back to the early days of the province, and also collections of papers including much of the material brought together by W. O. Raymond. The Natural History Society Museum of Chatham has files of old documents and publications but only a moderate interest is taken in its upkeep. The library of Mount Allison University has materials relating to the eastern part of the province. There is, of course, a great deal of material in the hands of individuals, and in local repositories such as county buildings.

Finally, the new museum in Saint John constitutes a very valuable acquisition for the province. It has an archives section and already a large amount of material has been collected. What part is to be played by the museum in preserving and organizing provincial records has not, however, been determined as yet. It is most desirable that there be worked out an arrangement fair to the interests of all concerned, as this would be a most important step in establishing effective archives work in the province for the first time.

In the opinion of the REVIEW no province has at present a greater opportunity than New Brunswick to make a notable contribution to the advancement of Canadian history. The province has a number of interested individuals and societies, and the historical celebration of last summer indicates that public support need not be lacking. An effective policy must, however, be framed before much improvement of the present situation is possible. The framing of such a policy would reflect public credit on those who were responsible for it. It is the chief step needed to set in motion a work which would be of national, not merely of provincial, significance, since the records of New Brunswick bear intimately on the history of the other provinces and of the dominion as a whole. We sincerely trust that the problem may be given the attention which it fully deserves.

NOVA SCOTIA

Though a records commissioner had been appointed for Nova Scotia in 1857 and had carried on work until his death in 1891, there had been no archives building prior to 1931. Dr. Akins's collection had been kept in various depositories and was comparatively inaccessible. During recent years it had been in the custody of Mr. H. Piers, curator of the provincial museum, which itself had cramped quarters in the Nova Scotia Technical College.

In 1929 the Hon. Edgar N. Rhodes, P.C., then premier of Nova Scotia, inspired the late Mr. W. H. Chase of Wolfville to present a

building to the province for the custody of the archives. The building was erected on the campus of Dalhousie University, the cornerstone being laid on August 29, 1929, by Mr. Rhodes. The site was given by the university, which also undertook to make the great contribution of heating the building. The building was formally opened on January 11, 1931. It consists of three floors of equal dimensions, all well lighted. The ground floor is the receiving-room, work-room, bindery, and photostat room. The second floor is a general show-room. It contains pictures, documents, and muniments such as would interest the ordinary visitor. It is open to the public at all hours during which the staff is in the building. The third floor is the archives proper. It is divided into three rooms. The central room is the student room. On the left is the library and on the right the manuscript room. This floor is reserved for serious students. The archivist conducts a class here in methods of research.

The archives is administered by a board of trustees appointed by statute and vested with wide powers in the acquisition and oversight of historical documents and historical buildings or sites. The legislation is found in the statutes of Nova Scotia for 1929, c. 1; 1930, c. 56; and 1931, c. 63. These provide that the board shall be a body corporate and politic but independent of politics as such. The archives is supported by provincial grant. The annual budget of the archivist is approved by the board of trustees, of which both the premier of the province and the leader of the opposition are, *ex officio*, members.

By a previous statute (R.S.N.S., 1923, c. 29), the government of Nova Scotia had claimed as its property all county records, such as township books, records of quarter sessions and inferior court of common pleas, and such of these as have been preserved and located have been handed over to the archives. Generally speaking, all records up to thirty or forty years ago are regarded as archival material and have been deposited in the archives.

Broadly speaking, the contents of the archives at present may be summarized as follows: (1) correspondence between the governors and lieutenant-governors and the board of trade or the colonial office; (2) correspondence between the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia and the secretary of state for Canada; (3) correspondence between the lieutenant-governors of Nova Scotia and other governors as well as other officials; (4) governors' instructions, commissions, proclamations, commission-books, warrant and order-books; (5) minutes of the council and later executive council; (6) journals of the legislative council and legislative assembly; (7) acts of the legislature in manuscript and statutes of the province in print; (8) petitions to the governor, council, and assembly; (9) reports, resolutions, and rejected bills of the assembly; (10) governors' warrants on the treasury; (11) provincial secretary's correspondence; (12) petitions for land, surveyors' warrants, and certificates and draft grants; (13) crown lands correspondence and reports; (14) revenue papers, bounties, *etc.*; (15) financial statements, vouchers, *etc.*; (16) militia papers and returns; (17) communications: appropriations and returns for roads and bridges, railways, canals, and steamships; (18) reports to the Central Agricultural Society, *etc.*; (19) mines and minerals;

(20) educational reports, returns, warrants, *etc.*; (21) post office letter-books and correspondence; (22) records of the supreme court, courts of common pleas, court of vice-admiralty, and court of chancery; (23) records of quarter sessions (in part) for King's County, Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Halifax, and Yarmouth; (24) a limited number of early township books; (25) general orders, correspondence, maps, and plans of the imperial forces in garrison in Halifax; (26) miscellaneous newspapers and magazines; (27) private collections and documents on specific subjects. There is also being rapidly built up a library which will supply most of the books needed by research students who are working with the manuscripts of the archives proper. Of this library the Akins library of four thousand rare books and pamphlets is the nucleus.

There have been no serious losses by fire and there are no catastrophic gaps in the records. There are, of course, odd gaps such as eight or ten years in the records of the supreme court which were destroyed by fire and eighty years of vice-admiralty records which were taken to Ottawa and thus preserved at a time when they were neglected in Nova Scotia. The acquisition of materials, both public and private, is being pursued constantly, vigorously, and successfully. Though the government has not fixed dates for the automatic transfer of official records, it no doubt will adopt any reasonable suggestions that may come from the archivist from time to time.

There is no manuscripts commission at present but the president of the Nova Scotia Historical Society is a member of the board of trustees and the archivist is in touch with such other historical societies and libraries as are interested in collecting and safeguarding historical records.

Dr. Akins, the records commissioner, 1857-91, issued a series of progress reports, that of 1886 being a short catalogue of the contents of his collection; and one volume of selected documents in 1869 known as *Nova Scotia Archives*, vol. I. All these are out of print. The public archives of Nova Scotia has issued four reports for 1931, 1932, 1933, and 1934 respectively; and, in 1933, a catalogue of the Akins library. All these have been sent free to all the universities and colleges in Canada, the larger public libraries, and on request to many in the United States. There are still a few left to be had on request. The archives has in preparation for publication in the near future a calendar of all documents in its custody, between 1802 and 1815, and a volume of documents on Captain Holland's survey and description of Cape Breton Island. These will be sent to the universities and colleges as above and a nominal price may be charged the casual inquirer. Other surveys or studies are being planned and will be published progressively. All these reports and publications are designed to be of use to the student of history. The report for 1932, for example, contained a list of newspapers, that of 1933, four documents descriptive of Nova Scotia from 1761-85, and that for 1934, a nominal census of the townships in Nova Scotia in 1770. Thus the reports, as well as the publications proper, contain and make accessible, historical information of all sorts.

The archives is not only an historical laboratory for university students but also a "stamping ground" for journalists and genealogists. Incidentally, it is of use to provincial officials who want to gather informa-

tion on the historical background of their present work and problems. Even the subdivisions of the early townships (1761-72) have been consulted in relation to the pulp-wood industry and the ownership of wood lots, *etc.* In fact, the people of Nova Scotia are getting quite interested in the origin and development of every phase of their life, including their flag.

The establishment of the archives in Nova Scotia has been, probably, the most important single event in the development of Canadian historical studies during recent years. Its organization was wisely planned so as to place the archives outside the range of party politics but at the same time to associate with it men occupying important public offices in the province. Under the able direction of Professor D. C. Harvey, M.A., F.R.S.C., the archives is making a notable contribution not only to scholarship but to the popularizing of Canadian history in the best sense of that term. It is a source of legitimate pride and intellectual stimulus to the people of the province. To those who wish to inform themselves as to the contribution which a provincial archives under intelligent leadership may make to the life of the community, the REVIEW warmly recommends a study of the situation in Nova Scotia.

ONTARIO

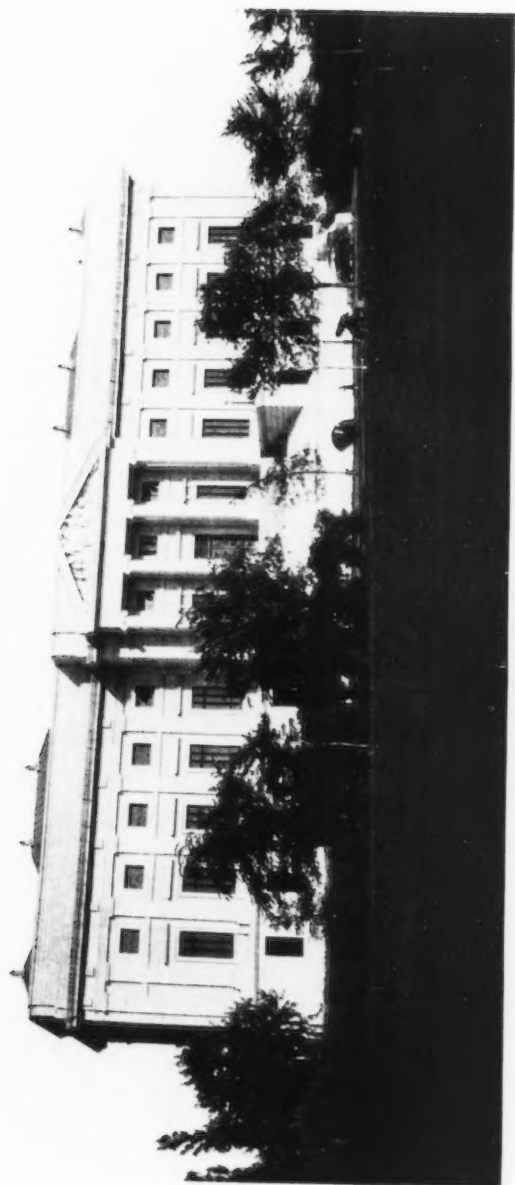
The Ontario archives was created in 1903 as a branch of the treasury. In 1923 the branch was raised to a department, still under the treasury. In February of this year the archives was made a branch of the department of education, the deputy minister of which is Mr. D. McArthur, formerly professor of history at Queen's University.

While the official sources, both printed and manuscript, form a very valuable collection they are unfortunately not what they should be, or would have been, had an aggressive archives policy been put into effect in the last century. There were some losses from fire but without doubt the most serious losses were due to lack of interest.

The land records are practically complete. Prior to Confederation they were in the offices of the surveyor-general and the commissioner of crown lands; they are now divided among the Public Archives at Ottawa, the provincial departments of lands and forests and of the surveyor-general, and the archives of Ontario. Such judicial records of the province as have been preserved are in the custody of the archives. However, many large groups, such as the assize papers, do not appear to be extant. The records of other departments of the province, prior to Confederation, such as those from the offices of the secretary and registrar, attorney-general, receiver-general, chief agent for emigration, *etc.*, do not appear to be preserved, although some will doubtless be found in private and other hands.

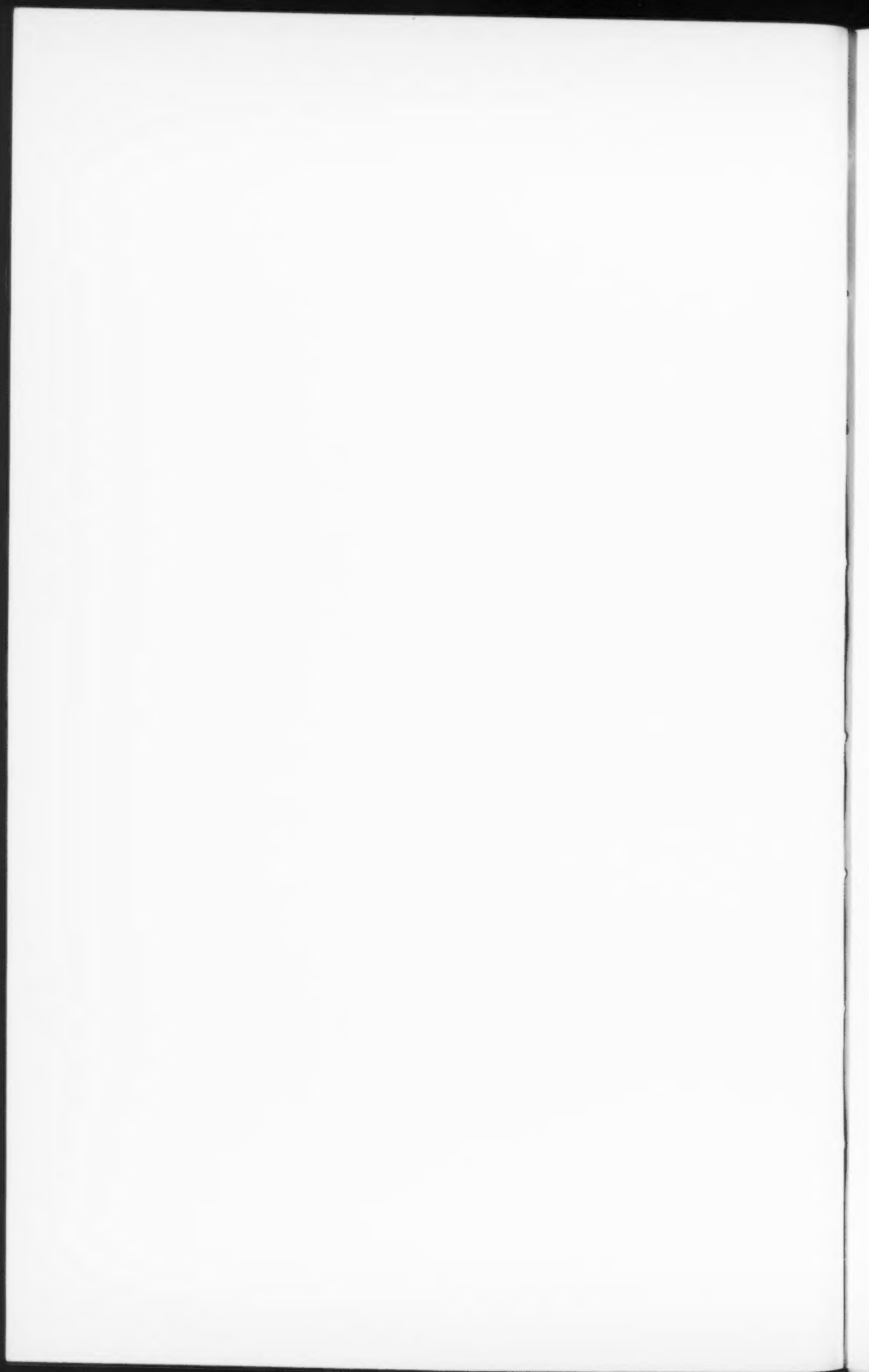
Provincial records subsequent to Confederation have, in general, not yet been transferred to the archives, with the exception of those from the bureau of municipal affairs. The act of 1923, which has not been fully enforced, gives, however, wide powers for the protection and acquisition of official documents.

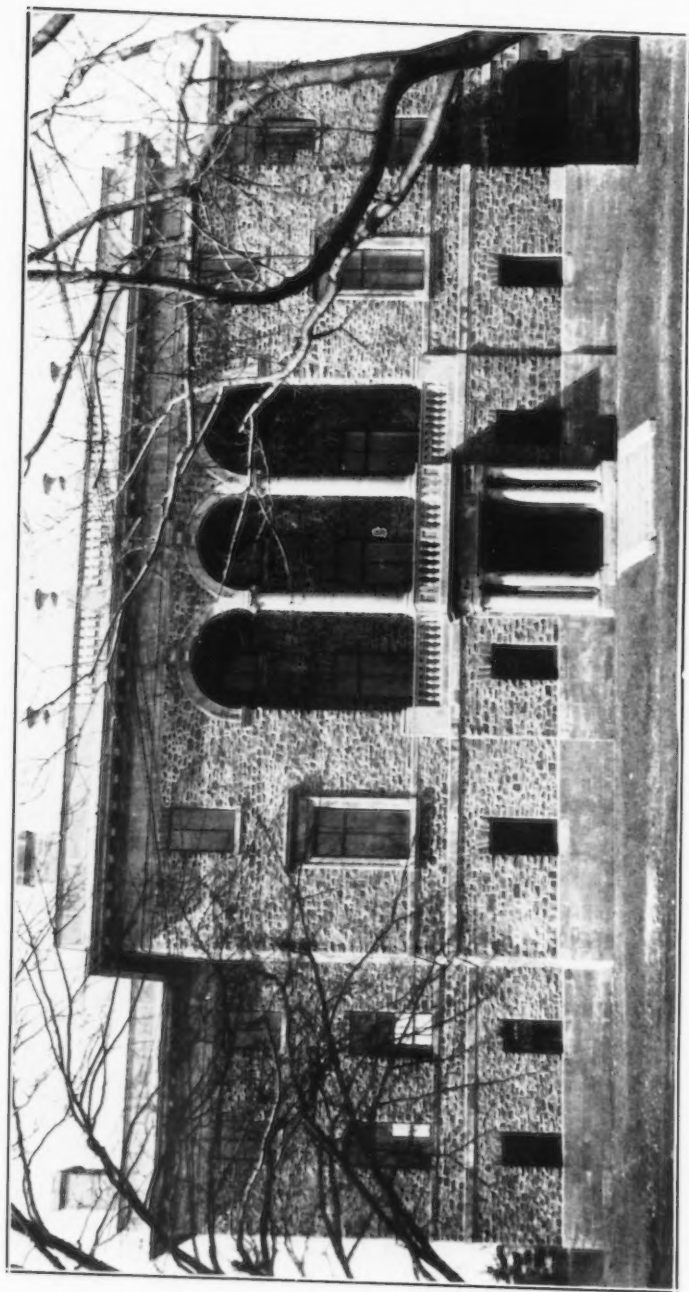
The newspaper collection of the archives is in many ways excellent.



THE ARCHIVES BUILDING OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

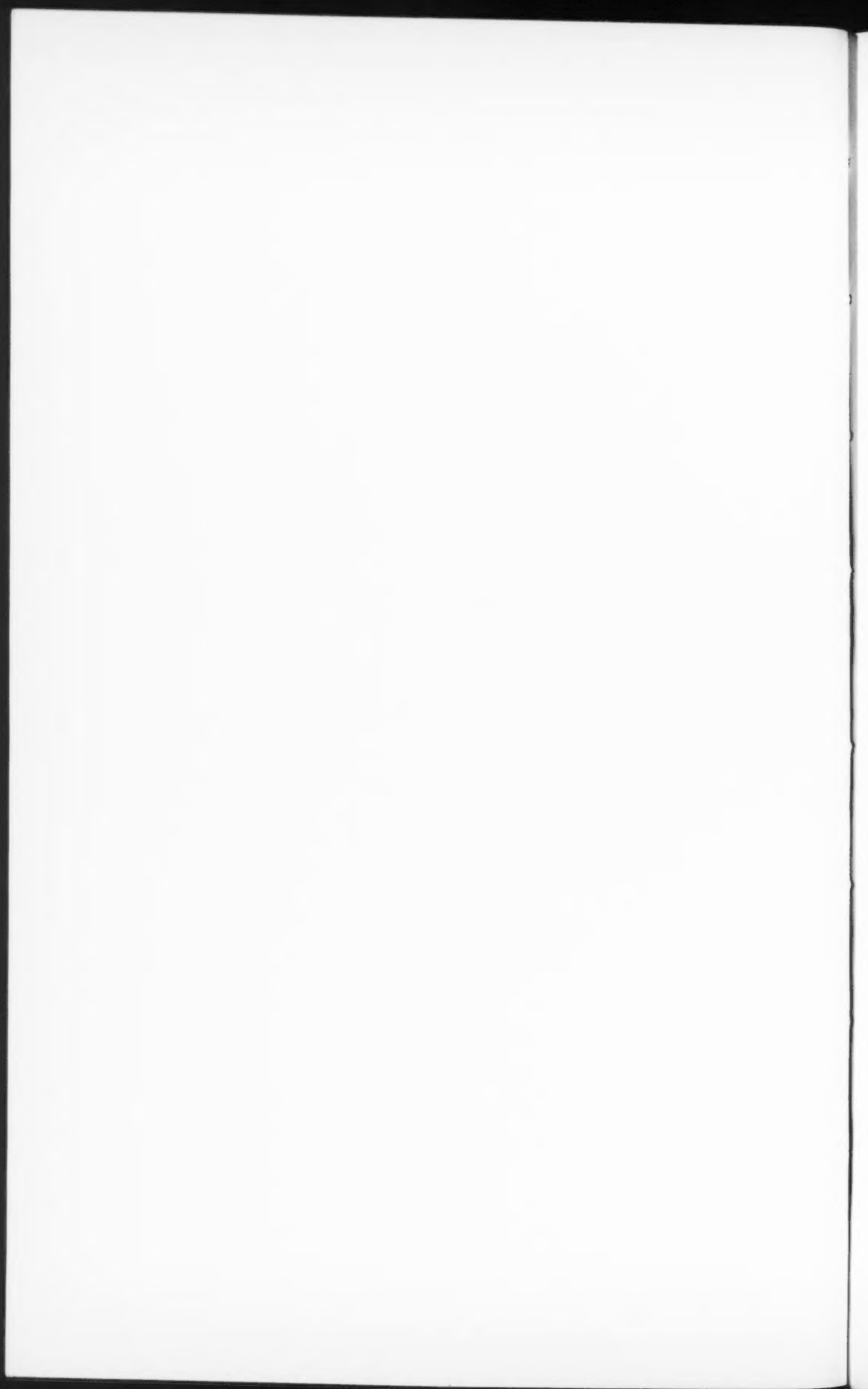


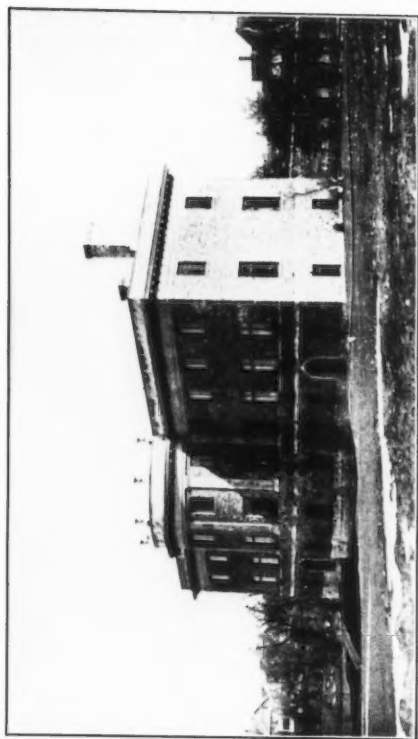




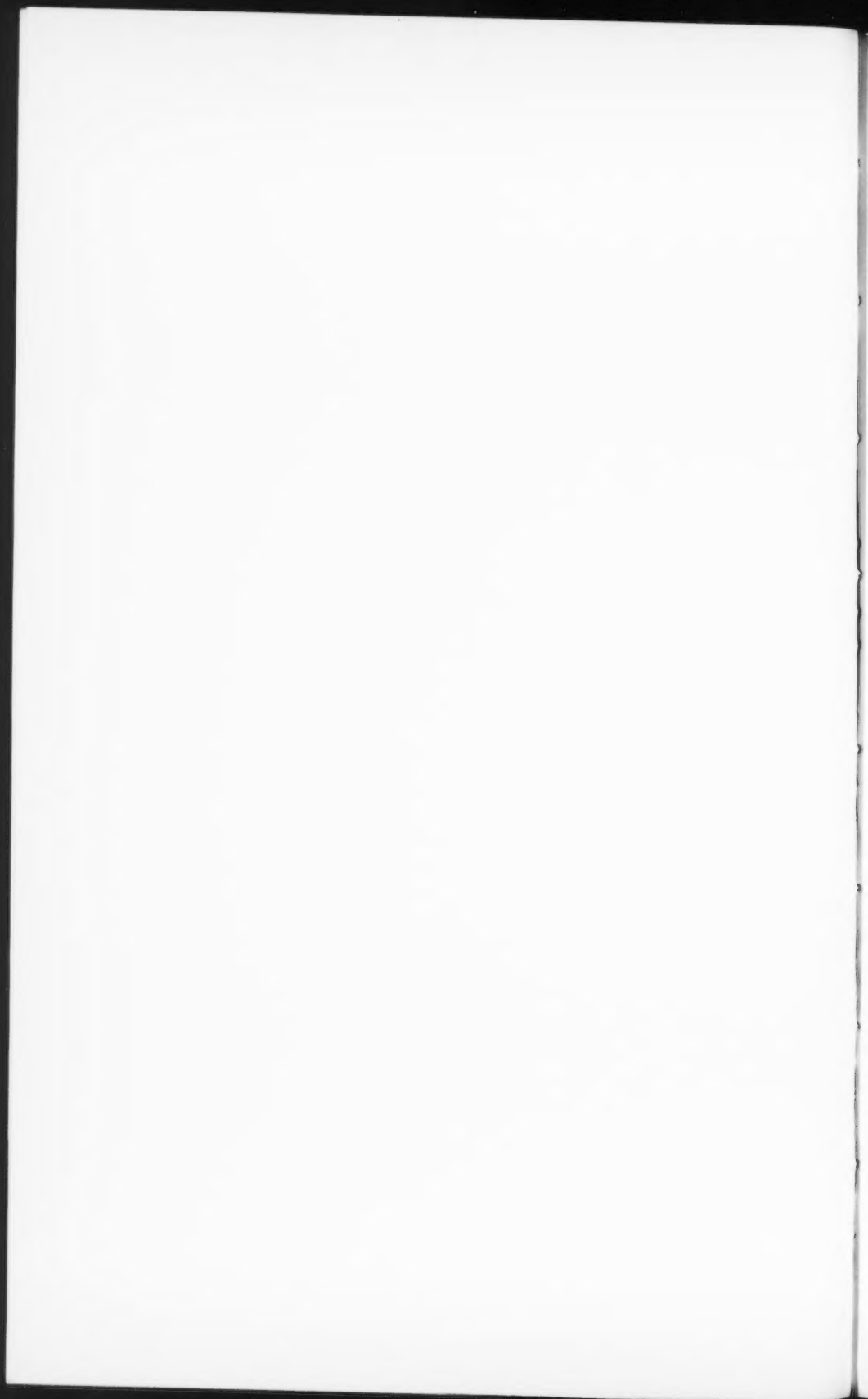
THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES BUILDING OF NOVA SCOTIA AT HALIFAX

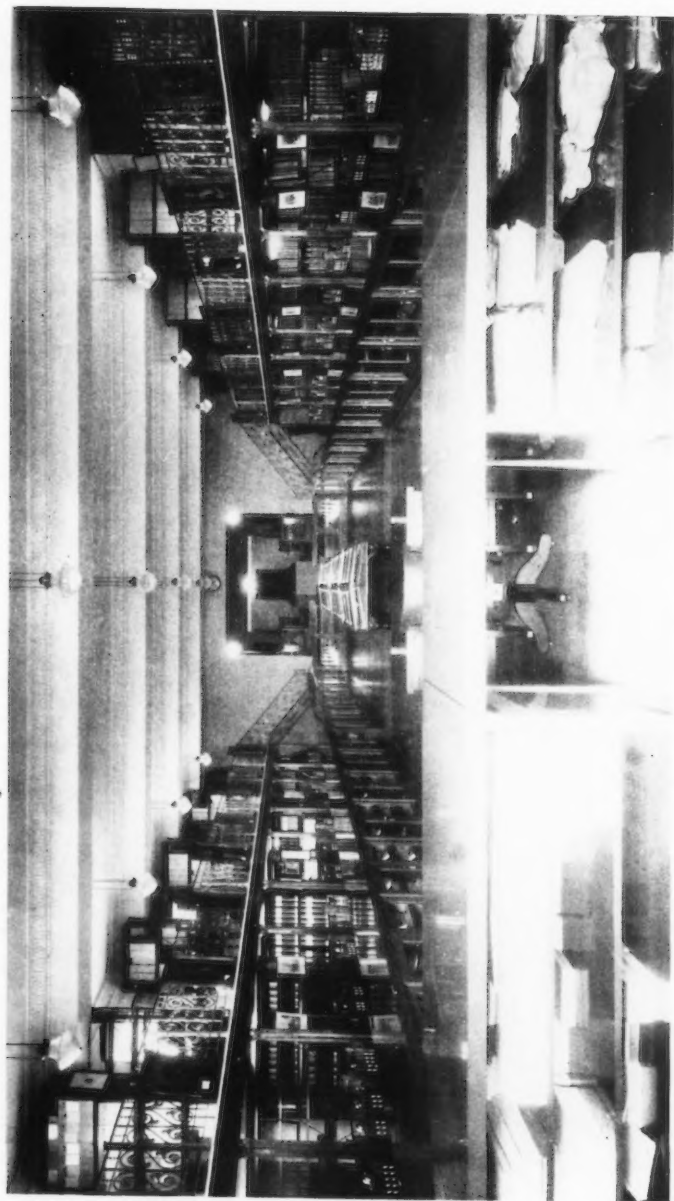






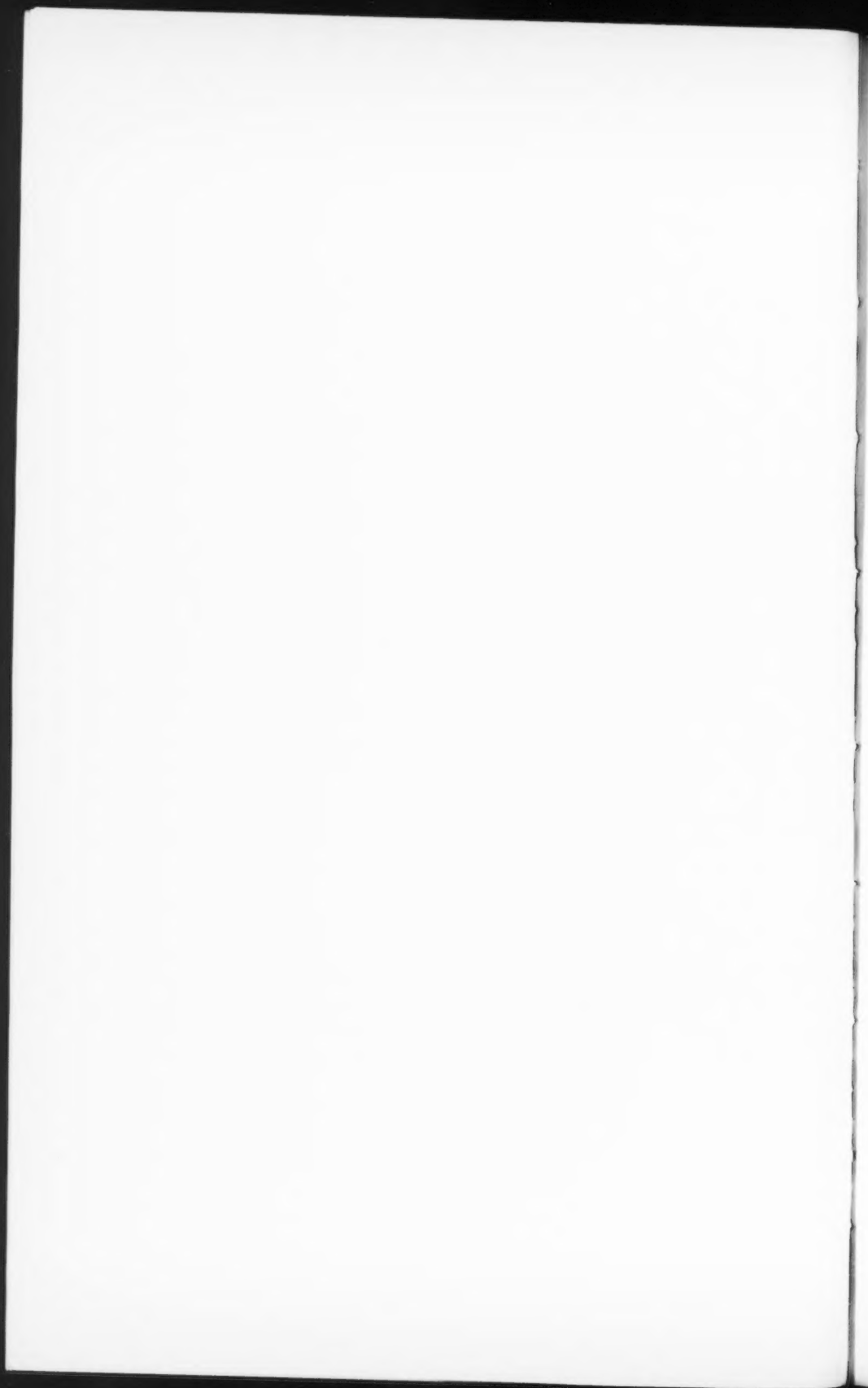
THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF NOVA SCOTIA, REAR VIEW





MANUSCRIPT ROOM OF THE ARCHIVES OF QUEBEC





There are some broken files of Upper Canadian newspapers and some unique items. The best part of the collection consists of weekly papers for the period of Confederation, many of which run for several years and are practically complete. Unfortunately, the holdings are but a fraction of the hundreds of papers which were printed in the province. The collections are as a whole not well bound and so are not as useful as they might be if the department had the means to make them more accessible.

There are some excellent personal collections: the papers of Bishop Strachan, John Beverley Robinson, William Hamilton Merritt, Peter Russell, and the journals of David Thompson the explorer, are a few representative ones. Many other private collections, which might well have come to the archives, have unfortunately, from time to time, been destroyed.

The archives has also some good maps of the province, a fairly complete set of county atlases, county and other directories, almanacs, pamphlets, and other printed matter which is essentially source material.

No attempt is being made to build up a library of secondary works. An effort is made, however, to add to the collections of the publications of historical societies and archives, not only such as are published in Canada, but also those from states which border on Ontario or which have supplied immigrants in the past: *e.g.*, the collections from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York are fairly complete. These publications are an invaluable supplementary aid to students who are working with the archival materials of the province.

Since 1903 the archives has published twenty-two volumes of reports and other publications. The reports are generally distributed free. Some of those of early years are out of print and where the holdings are limited a charge is made to individuals. The reports are not calendars, but with the exception of three, they contain nothing but source material, principally such material as journals of the legislative council and assembly, land books, and minutes of the courts of quarter sessions.

The archives is now housed in six floors in the new office building of the provincial government. These quarters are fire proof and a great improvement over previous accommodation, but they offer little possibility of expansion, are difficult of access, and provide little room for displays of material interesting to the public. These facts constitute a serious handicap to the usefulness of the archives as compared, for example, with the situation in Quebec and in Nova Scotia.

The archives during the past thirty years has built up a valuable collection through the efforts of the archivist, Colonel Alexander Fraser, who has recently retired. Mr. J. J. Talman, M.A., Ph.D., has in recent years been associated with the department. The archives has been very seriously handicapped for lack of funds. Even a comparatively small expenditure would make possible a much more aggressive policy of acquisition. Such a policy would reap a rich harvest. The REVIEW believes that there is now reason for encouragement and that circumstances will permit a definite development of the usefulness of the archives in the near future.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

There is no separate department of archives in the province, but collections of material are to be found in the Confederation Chamber at Charlottetown, in the office of the registrar of deeds and commissioner of crown lands, in the legislative and public library of Charlottetown, and in the several departments of government. The minutes of the executive council, the journals of the legislative assembly and of the legislative council, the laws and public accounts of the province, and newspaper files running back to early issues are among the most important materials available to students. There are, unfortunately, serious and extensive gaps in the manuscript records of the province, and little new material is being added. The fact that the minutes of the executive council are complete from 1770 to the present is of exceptional interest.

During recent years, however, the government has taken a commendable interest in preserving records under the direction of Mr. H. R. Stewart, their deputy provincial secretary. The Confederation Chamber, known originally as the legislative council chamber, was restored in 1931 and set aside for historical purposes. The chamber is still used for meetings of cabinet council. Its collection of records, pictures, and other items of historical interest attracts the attention of a large number of visitors.

QUEBEC

The government of the Province of Quebec has for many years given attention to the preservation of historical records. Since 1920 the archives has been established in its present form as a separate department under the authority of the provincial secretary. In 1931 the archives was moved to the very fine new building erected most appropriately on the Plains of Abraham. Here has been made ample provision for the preservation of records, free from such dangers as fire and dampness; for the work of a trained staff and those who may come for research; and finally for the display of materials which may interest the public at large. The museum of the province is housed in the same building. It is open every day free of charge to visitors and it contains a large and most interesting collection which includes not only manuscripts and historical objects, but also paintings, models, and other exhibits illustrating the life and history of the province.

No province possesses a greater variety and wealth of historical records. During the French régime, the political and religious administration of Quebec extended beyond the region of the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and the empire of the fur-traders drew tribute from beyond the Missouri and from the plains of the present Canadian west. The history of these far-flung interests may be traced in the voluminous records of church and state. No less important are the records of sovereign council, parishes, and seigneuries which throw light on the conditions of life and thought in the local communities. In the study of these closely-knit communities may be found

some at least of the secrets which explain the emergence and survival of a distinctive French-Canadian culture. In view of the importance of Quebec's records, it is a cause of congratulation to the dominion as a whole that the government and public men of the province appreciate their value and have given whole-hearted generous support to the work of the archives.

Lack of space makes impossible any description of the materials housed in the archives. The official records, both printed and manuscript, the newspaper files, the private and other miscellaneous papers are very extensive. A very good general account of them may be obtained in a pamphlet published several years ago by the archivist, *Les archives de la province et nos inventaires*. An active policy of acquisition is pursued. Transfers are being made from government departments and materials are being obtained also by gift and purchase. The government has placed at the disposal of the archivist \$10,000 annually for the purchase of books and manuscripts. The archives has a reference library of its own of some twenty thousand volumes. There is, of course, throughout the province, a great deal of material in various depositories, large and small, and in some of these conditions are such as to invite loss through fire or other causes. The archives has, however, been a centre of influence in arousing interest in such materials, and has inventories of over thirty of these collections. Among the collections outside the archives, the records of the Roman Catholic church are, of course, of special importance.

No other province approaches Quebec in respect of archives publications. The fourteen annual reports contain a vast amount of material in the form of documents, calendars, and other materials essential to the students not only of the history of Quebec but of the continent as a whole, especially in the colonial period. The same is true of the special publications now numbering thirty-four. These include such extensive materials as the acts and regulations of the sovereign council and the ordinances of the governors and intendants. Some of the special publications, as for example, *L'île d'Orléans* (1928), *Vieux manoirs, vieilles maisons* (1927), have been done on an elaborate scale and with such a wealth of illustration that they may be a prized possession in any library. The archives publishes, also, every month the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, which now runs to forty-four volumes and with its indexes provides an invaluable source of information.

Since its establishment the archives has been under the direction of M. Pierre-Georges Roy. Its success is attributable very largely to his great enthusiasm and his indefatigable energy. Quebec has demonstrated in striking fashion the contribution that may be made to the life of a province by encouraging a proper appreciation of the records of its past. The archives is an asset to the student and to the public at large, and is a powerful instrument in stimulating pride in the distinctive characteristics of the province.

SASKATCHEWAN

The archives of the Province of Saskatchewan are a part of the provincial library in Regina and are under the direction of the provincial

librarian, Mrs. Austin Bothwell. The collections at present include a considerable body of official materials, both printed and private, newspaper files, and miscellaneous materials. Effort has also been made to acquire early maps of the west. The librarian is endeavouring to add to these various collections. No regular policy of transfer of records from government departments is in effect, but the attention of deputy ministers has been called to the importance of preserving their records, and the advice of the librarian has been sought in this matter.

Efforts have been made to arouse interest in the province in historical records. Some two years ago the co-operation of the members of the legislature was solicited in the collection of material in their constituencies and the result was the formation of a number of small groups which are concerning themselves with the history of their communities. Saskatchewan is still young enough to be able to get at first hand the records of some of the pioneers in various parts of the province, although the opportunity is rapidly passing. Some work along this line has already been done.

No archives publications have been issued by the province. The provincial library, however, has given encouragement to research in several directions.

It should be observed finally that a very important and extensive collection of sources pertaining to the history of the west has been built up in the library of the provincial university at Saskatoon.

GEORGE W. BROWN

CANADA AS A FACTOR IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS OF THE 1860's¹

THE dozen years between the first election of Lincoln and the Geneva arbitration were an unusually critical time in the history of Anglo-American relations and as such have received careful and repeated attention. The same brief period saw the separate sections of British North America united into a federal dominion extending from Atlantic to Pacific, a transformation in the accomplishment of which the influence of Anglo-American relations was far-reaching and profound, as numerous students of Canadian history have been stating for some years with increasing emphasis and varying particularity. If relations between England and America in this period were so important in themselves, and if their influence on Canadian history was so far-reaching as is now generally recognized, it should not be unprofitable to examine the situation from another angle and to focus inquiry upon the bearing on Anglo-American relations of the British North American, or, in the wider sense of the word, the Canadian factor.

The year 1860 opened with comparative calm in Anglo-American relations. Among the English public there was notable lack of interest in them, and public attention in the United States was already becoming hypnotically fixed on the impending internal crisis. The colonial situation, nevertheless, was pregnant with possibilities of trouble between the republic and Great Britain, a fact of which at least some statesmen in both countries were quite aware. There was still a chance that local indiscretion might produce an acute crisis out of the comic-opera dispute over the possession of the Island of San Juan, south of Vancouver Island. A real flare-up on the Pacific coast would be more serious than formerly now that recently discovered gold was drawing settlement to British Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Company's domination there had passed. Its monopoly on the plains was now threatened as well. Dissatisfaction among the settlers

¹A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington in December, 1934. The author would acknowledge his obligation to the Social Science Research Council, which by a grant-in-aid made possible a considerable part of the researches upon which the conclusions here suggested are based. As he is engaged upon a monograph on Canadian-American relations during this period, which will be fully documented, it seems superfluous to encumber this paper with references.

at the Red River, expansionist ambitions in the old Province of Canada, the threat of spreading American settlement in Minnesota and the growing economic attraction of St. Paul, together with impending problems of transcontinental communications and transportation, all combined to raise questions as to the future of the north-west. Among the eastern provinces Canada had recently given American industrialists ground on which to attack the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 by placing tariffs on American manufactured articles, which, although no violation of the treaty's terms, none the less were upsetting established trade. With the fate of reciprocity, so many believed, was tied up the political as well as economic destiny of the provinces. The subject was already one of deep concern to the British government and to its minister at Washington. In short, uncertainty as to the fate of various parts of British North America and the tentative character of the relations subsisting among its sections as well as across the international border, held decided possibilities of international unpleasantness in the not distant future.

The Prince of Wales's visit to British North America in the summer of 1860 to open officially a railway bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal was followed by an unofficial welcome in the republic. This would have been a happy augury for international relations but for the premonitions of aggression against Canada aroused in the visiting colonial secretary by conversation with Seward, who was so soon to become Lincoln's secretary of state. If English desire for a peaceful settlement of America's internal crisis was enhanced by fears for the prosperity of the cotton industry, it was fear for the safety of the colonies that gave edge to the growing official belief in England that war among the states might bring an Anglo-American conflict.

During the Civil War, Anglo-American relations were indeed greatly affected, alike by conditions and developments within British North America and by the place which the latter occupied in the interests and in the purposes both of Great Britain and of the northern states. Seward's early bluster about a "foreign war panacea" and popular as well as official resentment among supporters of the union at England's recognition of southern belligerency, derived much of their point from the fact that the British Empire was so vulnerable on the Canadian border, and from the widespread and freely-voiced American assumption that Canada would fall an easy prey to marching men. Much had happened since the War of 1812 to weaken the defensibility of the province,

despite the elaborate fortifications which had been built at certain strategic points, but the British government was unwilling to ignore the challenge in the new situation and hardly had the Civil War begun before it was sending stores of arms to the provinces for colonial use as well as reinforcing the imperial garrisons there. Further troops, which nearly doubled the number of regulars in the provinces, were despatched within a few weeks immediately following the *Trent* affair of November, 1861. For, though the origins of that particular crisis were entirely apart from British America, it was obvious that, if hostilities ensued, the provinces would be the goal of northern endeavour. The British theory of the situation, already reiterated for some months by Lyons, the British minister, in his despatches and letters from the legation at Washington, was that only a vigorous demonstration of imperial intention to come to the defence of the colonies would convince the Washington administration of the serious character of any armed conflict with the empire sufficiently to prevent it. While the British government was intent on thus avoiding hostilities over the *Trent*, Seward now convinced the president's cabinet that a British war would be no panacea, but disaster. If I have read the evidence aright, the determination on both sides, which won through to a peaceful solution of that crisis, was immensely strengthened by the full knowledge that war would mean serious land campaigns along the Canadian border. The flaming of popular passion on both sides of the Atlantic made the statesmen's task in preserving peace more difficult and their achievement all the greater.

Within less than a year another crisis came and passed, this time within the confidential deliberations of the British cabinet, which, after publicly opposing mediation in the summer of 1862, gave it serious consideration in the autumn. This arose from a conviction, on the part of some members of the cabinet, that southern independence was now assured, and from a desire, for the sake of English interests and in the cause of peace, to see the struggle brought to a speedy close. Before the discussions ended, however, the outcome of the war seemed less certain. The cabinet would not adopt a policy that was so liable, while there was any chance of northern victory, to be made a *casus belli* against Canada.

That winter the emancipation proclamation put a different colour on the issues of the war, and after Gettysburg and Vicksburg the expected southern success in vindicating independence

was no longer so assured. Liberal sympathy in England with the northern cause became so widespread and vocal that thenceforth it would itself have been sufficiently powerful to prevent any mediation likely to weaken the position of the union. But anti-British sentiment in the north continued strong. While it was fed by excitement over the depredations of the *Alabama* and her sister ships, it was also repeatedly stimulated by the situation in the British provinces. Though at the beginning of the war there was much sympathy there with the north, and throughout the war large numbers of provincials enlisted in northern armies, some of them for bounties but some from higher motives, nevertheless, as the war continued, expressions of antagonism to the north became more frequent and more outspoken. Despite the fact that these were in large measure evoked by the violent utterances of such anti-British and anti-colonial journals as the *New York Herald*, which were widely copied in the provincial papers, they inevitably exasperated northern sensibilities already ruffled by British policy. When Canadian soil was made the base for Confederate raids on the lakes and across the land frontier, resentment grew apace. Whilst the governor-general of Canada advised the colonial office that additional naval force was needed on the lakes to prevent such unneutral actions, the Washington government gave notice, later withdrawn, of the abrogation of the Rush-Bagot agreement for limitation of naval armaments on the lakes. Meanwhile American dissatisfaction with the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty was also growing. The Radical Republicans took advantage of such elements in the situation, and, seizing upon the widespread and not entirely latent feeling for "manifest destiny", made annexation their avowed aim.

In the months prior to the election of 1864 it looked as if almost anything might happen. After the election there was probably less danger of the president and his cabinet being stampeded into hostilities which they were anxious to avoid. But the agitation to abrogate reciprocity was successful in congress before the winter was over, partly because of desire to retaliate against the provinces both for their own sins and for Britain's, partly because they were supposed to be so dependent upon the trade enjoyed under the treaty that deprivation of it would drive them to seek its restoration on any terms, and these terms, it was commonly said, must now involve annexation.

As the war drew to its relentless close, the possibility of military power being used to supplement economic pressure in order to

force this consummation loomed not only on provincial frontiers but over the English horizon. Though before many months the large northern armies melted away into industry and on to the homesteads of the west, yet by the election year of '66 the Fenian elements recruited from the residue passed from threats to actual invasion of provincial soil.

In relation to these developments it was no mere coincidence that in 1864 provincial leaders discussed and shaped in conference a scheme of federal union, for they hoped that while solving certain internal problems it would also ensure British North America against successful aggression from across the border whether the weapon should be economic, political, or military. But despite the pressure of constitutional difficulties and the exigencies of party leaders, despite the influence of railway promoters and other powerful financial interests, even despite the energetic popular appeal to rally against the menace of annexation, it is exceedingly doubtful if the union could have been accomplished in the sixties, or perhaps ever, in the teeth of such opposition as the project soon evoked in some quarters, particularly in the Maritime Provinces, had not the British government determined to back it. Britain's resort to what may not inappropriately be characterized as coercive tactics to push the scheme through is to be explained primarily by the precarious condition of her relations with the United States. Those relations would be simplified and safe-guarded in so far as she could relieve herself of responsibilities and risks incidental to the political decentralization of British North America and the unsettled state generally of British North American affairs. A unification of the defensive systems of the provinces had recently been urged upon their governments but proved impracticable without prior political union. Creation of the dominion would make it possible to throw the colonies more on their own resources for defence, while a larger and united Canada would be less liable either to invite attack or fall a prey to it if it came, and could more readily cope with hostile measures of an economic character. By calling into existence a new North American nation Britain would prevent her older offspring from bestriding the whole continent from the Rio Grande to the Arctic. If federation was thought by some to be a step towards independence from Britain, it was actually far more, in immediate intention and in effect, a vindication of British North American independence from the United States.

American expressions of hostility to the federation project

strengthened the British as well as the colonial sense of its importance, and impressed the need for pushing it to completion and extending it across the continent by taking over the north-west from the Hudson's Bay Company and securing the entrance of British Columbia. The Alaska purchase, continued propaganda centring in Minnesota for acquisition of the Red River basin and regions beyond, and annexationist agitation in British Columbia, combined to hasten the prompt expansion of the dominion in preference to the setting up of a new crown colony or group of colonies in the west. Gaps must be filled and the frontier politically consolidated from sea to sea. Thus imperial insistence tipped the balance alike for the creation of the dominion and for its rapid territorial completion. Imperial policy and Anglo-American relations were here, as so often, inextricably interwoven.

Till the Washington Treaty arranged for the settlement of outstanding questions in Anglo-American relations, the controversy over American claims against England, arising directly out of the depredations of the *Alabama* and other British-built Confederate vessels, was complicated not only by indirect claims, but in large measure by the fact that the fate of British North America was still, in the view of many, hanging in the balance. Specific Canadian and border questions—the San Juan boundary, the fisheries, attempts to renew commercial reciprocity, even the Canadian claims for damages against the United States arising from the Fenian raids—were all essentially subordinate to the larger question as to whether Britain was prepared to cede territory to the republic by way of compensation or to placate American opinion by withdrawing her flag from the continent. The disgruntled talk of some British statesmen in their more irresponsible moments lent the colour of possibility to such ideas, while their support by some officially prominent Americans gave them a measure of repute, however much they may have been advanced in certain quarters merely for political effect. Hopes of taking advantage of England's diplomatic predicament, in order to open the way to peaceful expansion northwards, marked a final chapter of active effort to achieve for the United States an exaggerated manifest destiny in that direction. Canadian federation might, indeed, conceivably lead some day to independence by friendly agreement between colonies and mother country, but for the time being colonial loyalty to the British connection remained too outspoken, and it was also apparent that independence from Britain would mean speedy annexation to the republic. In such

circumstances it was quite out of the question for any British government to cut the colonies loose.

In the Washington settlement, British acquiescence in the American contention that Canada's claims for damages arising out of the Fenian raids must not be pressed, may be looked upon as a rather inconsiderable offset to American acceptance of the realities of the Canadian situation. The Canadian tradition that the dominion's interests were sacrificed at Washington on the altar of an Anglo-American settlement rests on an exceedingly incomplete view of the issues involved. The fact of prime importance for Canada was that every suggestion that the United States should receive territorial compensation in Canada, or that the British flag should be withdrawn from this continent, met an unyielding, if sometimes mildly phrased, rebuff from Britain's spokesmen. And so to arbitral settlement were assigned the San Juan boundary, the financial adjustment of inequalities in the reciprocal arrangements arrived at concerning fisheries, and, most troublesome of all, the *Alabama* claims. Last-minute difficulties at Geneva over an attempt to include "indirect" as well as "direct" claims were overcome without any revival of the question of Canada's destiny. Yet its recent discussion was part of the background of the Geneva award and of its acceptance by the British government. The very essence of the bearing of the Canadian factor upon Anglo-American relations in that epochal achievement is to be found in the fact that even a "Little Englander" government preferred to buy a friendly settlement with the United States, by putting itself in the position of having to pay so unprecedented a bill, rather than even to consider as a serious possibility the abandonment of Canada.

During the dozen critical years here touched upon in such sketchy fashion, the Canadian factor, then, played a part of genuine, if not always conspicuous, significance in Anglo-American relations, frequently by accentuating frictions, but also as a makeweight for the avoidance of war in acute crises and for the attainment in the end of a satisfactory pacific settlement of highly provocative controversies.

Looking at Anglo-American relations in the present year of grace, one cannot avoid the further conclusion that the stimulus supplied at that time to the unification of the Canadian dominion, under conditions involving the preservation of its British connection, was in the long run as fortunate for English-speaking relations in the widest sense as it was important in the history of

this continent. The Dominion of Canada, in large measure because of its situation on this continent next door to the United States, has been in a position to give a lead in the growth of those equal commonwealth relationships, connoted by the phrase "dominion status", that have transformed so much of the British Empire into the sort of equal association of autonomous national states with which the neighbouring republic can to-day sympathize and associate on a basis of mutual respect as well as understanding. To-day Canada's existence in North America and her status in the British Commonwealth constitute a continuing pledge of goodwill, and an open door to good understanding, between the United States and all those lands which still bear allegiance to the British crown, such as could have been secured in no other way. Canadians, at any rate, may well be grateful to a destiny that has given them, not so much a foot in either camp, as two hearthstones, one North American and the other British, and it behooves them to do what they can to keep both their hearths burning brightly, and devoutly to pray that the course of Anglo-American relations may continue to run smooth.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

THE RELATIONS OF GOVERNOR AND INTENDANT IN THE OLD REGIME

WE have been too prone to think of the relations of governor and intendant as normally stormy and strained. This is because there has been neglect in studying the period of their closest co-operation, the long peace of the eighteenth century. In that period the French colonists became Canadian, their parishes were organized, small industries were developed, a financial structure was created, the fur-trade took its final form; and the peaceful co-operation of Intendant Bégon with Vaudreuil the elder, and of Hocquart with Beauharnois, contributed to this fruitful story.

I propose to supplement what M. Gustave Lanctot accurately and concisely says on this subject.¹ My thesis is that, while the struggles of Frontenac and Duchesneau established the intendency and while the war administration at the turn of the century delimited it and gave it scope, the administrations of Bégon and Hocquart, as far as permanent results on Canadian history are concerned, *were* the intendency in New France. In this story the two years of Intendant Dupuy form a strange interlude.

The Canadian intendant touched the work of the governor-general under all three aspects of his title "Intendant of justice, police, and finance". As intendant of justice, he depended on the governor-general for the enforcement of judicial acts and in some cases for apprehending prisoners; he presided in the superior council where the governor was senior in rank and prestige; he was a normal but unprivileged member of courts martial. As intendant of police, he shared equally with the governor-general *police générale*, which came to be specifically interpreted as the development of population, agriculture, and trade. The association of the governor might be formal or effective; the border-lines of *police générale* were vague. But it is here that the most lasting

¹G. Lanctot, *L'administration de la Nouvelle France: L'administration générale* (Paris, 1929).

The material for this paper has been drawn directly, for the most part, from the copies of Archives des Colonies in the Public Archives of Canada, *Series B* (calendared in the *Report of the Canadian Archives*, 1899, 1904, 1905); *Series C* (calendared in the *Report of the Canadian Archives*, 1885, 1886, 1887); and *Series F*³ (summarized in the *Report of the Canadian Archives*, 1899, 1905). Much of the same material and other material supplementing it has appeared in the *Reports of the Quebec Archives* (cited as *Report Arch. Que.*) and in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*.

For the convenience of the reader, a chronological table is given on page 30.

effects of government were made on New France. As intendant of finance, he was paymaster of all troops and quartermaster of all stores; but his independence was limited by the governor's supreme authority in "extraordinary" expenditure, which was mostly military. Finally, as the two personal representatives of the royal autocracy, the governor-general and the intendant might facilitate or destroy administration by an amicable or quarrelsome personal attitude to each other; and these relations were influenced by occasional conflicts in business, professional, or family loyalties.

Intendant Talon hardly enters into this story. He exercised unique authority as the founder of an institution.² He had the separate ear of Colbert, with whom he debated spiritedly enough on policy, and he did not have to join his military colleagues in formal annual reports as his successors did. None the less he praised the lieutenant-general, Tracy, and the governor, Courcelles, on all reasonable occasions.³ He concurred in their military policy and supported it on occasion against the minister; and, when he needed a controller to assist him, he turned to Tracy for his man. He refers to the assistance he received from Tracy's secretary and from ten of the officers of the regiment. Talon's own contributions to Canadian trade and industry set a precedent for personal economic activity that was decidedly not proper for later intendants.

To this co-operative dictatorship of Talon⁴ succeeded the principate of Frontenac. The centralized authority was in the hands of the governor-general for three years. Then came Duchesneau to recover this power and to establish the intendency in its continuing form. The struggle was dramatic and definitive. Frontenac constantly interfered with the intendant in the administration of justice. He used military authority to make it impossible for Duchesneau to get evidence on the illegal fur-trade.⁵ The major at Montreal, the initiating officer in military processes, was one of Frontenac's inner circle. The *maréchaussée* police were forbidden to arrest *coureurs de bois* without the governor's permission.

In the sovereign council Frontenac's action was more dramatic.

²*Edits, ordonnances royaux* (Québec, 1854-5), I, 34; see, on this commission, Lanctot, *L'administration de la Nouvelle France*, 52-3.

³*Series C*¹¹, vol. 2: Talon to Colbert, Oct. 4, 1665; Nov. 11 and 13, 1666; Talon's reply to his instructions, Aug. 25, 1667; Talon's *mémoire* on Canada. Also in *Report Arch. Que.*, 1930-1.

⁴The arrêt of June, 1772, would have given almost dictatorial powers in regard to immigration and settlement (*Edits, ord.*, I, 72).

⁵*C*¹¹, vol. 5: Duchesneau, Nov. 10, 1679, Nov. 13, 1680.

He forbade it to proceed against Nicholas Perrot,⁶ and then he launched a bitter attack on Duchesneau's position as president of the council. Duchesneau, unlike Talon, was commissioned to be acting president of the council. Frontenac, however, had been named president in instructions dated only six weeks earlier than Duchesneau's, but after 1675 this no longer occurred. What little ambiguity there was lay between Frontenac's letter of April 22 and the royal declaration of June 5 of that year.⁷ Frontenac continued to dominate the council until 1678, and in the next spring formally attempted to depose Duchesneau as presiding officer. The attorney-general, the elder Auteuil, who died during the controversy, held the council sternly to the terms of the royal declaration. Frontenac used threats of military authority; he used the name of the king; he stooped to puerile tricks with the minute-book of the council. He kept the attorney-general and two councillors in custody for several weeks. Eventually he had to submit to allowing the protest of the council to be entered with his claim to the presidency. Then the minister completely upheld Duchesneau's position, though he did not vindicate all his acts.⁸ That struggle never had to be resumed.

But the interference with justice went far beyond the formalities of the sovereign council. Frontenac and Duchesneau took sides in a quarrel between a director of the domain and their Canadian agent.⁹ Councillors were still threatened with recall to France, senior judges were insulted by the governor, an aged councillor was kept under arrest; Duchesneau's secretary, his son, and his servant all spent some time locked up.¹⁰ The administration of justice collapsed in these circumstances.¹¹

The breakdown in justice naturally affected co-operation between governor and intendant in *police générale*. The governor-general and the intendant now shared authority in making land grants. Frontenac was insulted by having his august name

⁶C¹¹, vol. 5: Duchesneau's *mémoire* on the *coureurs de bois*, Nov. 13, 1681; extract of letters under heading "Justice", May 10 and 20, 1681.

⁷E. Lareau, *Histoire du droit canadien* (Montréal, 1888-9), 228; J. Delalande, *Le conseil souverain de la Nouvelle France* (Québec, 1927), 179. The pertinent correspondence cited in the next few pages can all be found in C¹¹, vol. 5, and "Extract of letters of 1681 and 1682" in C¹¹, vol. 6.

⁸Auteuil, Nov. 10, 1679; Frontenac, Oct. 9, Nov. 6, 1679; Duchesneau, Nov. 10, 1679; King to Frontenac, April 29, 1680; *Edits, ord.*, I, 83, 238.

⁹Duchesneau, Nov. 13, 1680, Nov. 10 and 13, 1681; King to Duchesneau, April 30, 1681.

¹⁰Extract from letters of 1681 and 1682, *colles* 17, 19; Extract from register of *conseil souverain*, 1681.

¹¹Frontenac, Nov. 2 and 13, 1681; Duchesneau, Oct. 1, 1679; King to Duchesneau, June 2, 1680.

associated with an intendant's, and Duchesneau did not help matters by completing some grants of Talon, who had had sole authority in the matter. Frontenac simply refused to countenance the cancellation of land grants.¹²

In the joint dispute with Laval over tithes and the establishment of parishes, Frontenac looked more to the poverty of the Canadians, Duchesneau to that of the king.¹³ Frontenac made impossible the equal freedom to trade among the merchants, whom the intendant was to protect.¹⁴ Duchesneau had contributed to the policy of issuing twenty-five annual *congés* for trade in the upper country. But he had only a formal right to visa them and

TABLE OF DATES

Governors-general	Intendants
1663. Mézy	1663. (Robert)
1665. Courcelles	1665. Talon
	1668. Bouteroue
	1670. Talon
1672. Frontenac	1672. (Vacancy)
	1675. Duchesneau
1682. La Barre	1682. Meulles
1685. Denonville	
	1686. Champigny
1689. Frontenac	
1698. Callières (acting)	
1699. Callières	
	1702. Fr. de Beauharnois
1703. Vaudreuil (acting)	
1705. Vaudreuil (Philippe)	1705. Raudot (Jacques and A.D.)
	1712. Bégon
1714. Ramezay (acting)	
1716. Vaudreuil	
	1724. (Robert) Bégon (acting)
1725. Longueuil (acting)	1725. (Chazel) Aigremont (acting)
1726. Ch. de Beauharnois	1726. Dupuy
	1728. Aigremont (acting)
	Silly (acting)
	1729. Hocquart (intendant from 1731)
	1736. Michel (acting)
	1737. Hocquart
1747. La Galissonnière (acting)	
	1748. Bigot
1749. La Jonquière	
1752. Longueuil (2nd baron, acting)	
Duquesne	
1755. Vaudreuil (Pierre)	

The first Intendant Robert (1663) is unknown; the second Robert (1724) died on his way to Canada; Chazel (1725) was drowned on his way to Canada. Hocquart was commissioned as intendant only after he had served for two years in lower rank but with full authority.

¹²*Ibid.*; Duchesneau, Nov. 4, 1679; Frontenac, Nov. 14, 1680.

¹³Frontenac, Nov. 2, 1681; Duchesneau, Nov. 1, 1681; Laval, Nov. 13, 1681; "Extract from letters of 1681 and 1682".

¹⁴Duchesneau, Nov. 10, 1679, Nov. 13, 1681; Frontenac, Oct. 9, 1679.

they were circumvented by the governor's *permissions* to travel up country. Under these *permissions* trade took place, either in tolerated defiance of authority or with Frontenac's authority which was itself often illegal.¹⁵ The minister was convinced by Duchesneau's documents that Frontenac was personally implicated in the trade and in its illegal maintenance; he was never convinced by Frontenac that Duchesneau was similarly guilty.¹⁶ Nevertheless Duchesneau had aggravated his troubles by entering too heartily into the partisan tendencies of the situation and had refused Frontenac the deference that the intendant always owed a governor-general.¹⁷ The important fact was that intolerable personal relations between them almost brought civil government to a standstill in New France.

Although the seven years of struggle broke colonial discipline, Duchesneau's fight had been just strong enough to save the intendency though not strong enough to save himself. In a way that appears devious through the records but which was probably bitterly clear to Duchesneau, he fought the good fight of civil supremacy and the law against military authority and the man. There was to be no local *Führerprinzip* in French Canada.

With La Barre (and Denonville) and Meulles, we are with smaller men and smaller issues. The relation of the intendant to the local governors was settled by the formula that he could give them advice which they were supposed to follow, but he could take action against one only through the governor-general.¹⁸ In military matters the intendant could press opposition only to the point of strong but respectful protest to the minister, with the governor's knowledge.¹⁹ Admiralty jurisdiction passed to the intendant, though Frontenac had exercised it, pending the creation of an admiralty court.²⁰ In financial matters the intendant was independent but he had to issue stores and supplies for military purposes when the governor insisted upon them.²¹

¹⁵King to Frontenac, April 29, 1681; Frontenac's *mémoire* and proofs of the disorders of the *coureurs de bois*; "Extract from letters of 1681 and 1682", Frontenac's journal, Sept. 4, 1681, and *colles* 27, 40, 41.

¹⁶H. A. Innis, *The fur trade in Canada* (New Haven, 1930), 49. A vast correspondence presents the arguments. Besides those already cited: *C*¹¹, vol. 6, King to Frontenac, April 30, 1681, *Colte* 32 in "Extract from letters"; *C*¹¹, vol. 6, "Extract of what was said to Duchesneau concerning trade with Orange and Manatte". See also *Report Arch. Que.*, 1926-7: Frontenac's letters.

¹⁷*C*¹¹, vol. 5: King to Duchesneau, June 2, 1680.

¹⁸*B*, vol. 11: "Difficulties which the Marquis de Seignelay will please decide concerning the governor and intendant in Canada—the king's reply".

¹⁹*B*, vol. 10: King to Meulles, March 10, 1685.

²⁰*B*, vol. 11: "Difficulties, etc."; Instructions to Denonville, 1685.

²¹*Ibid.*, Minister to Meulles, April 10, 1684; vol. 10, King to La Barre, Aug. 5, 1685.

This new system of Duchesneau, confirmed under Meulles,²² passed to Champigny, most of whose administration coincided with war and Frontenac. Frontenac interfered with justice much less frequently and grossly than before, although once in his old age he issued an ordinance in a friend's interest against an intendant's judgment.²³ In policy, Champigny tended to oppose western expansion, either under La Salle's successors or under the partisans of the governor-general. He, like the wiser intendants, wished to strengthen the agricultural settlements: as long, therefore, as the governor-general was a fur-trader, conflict remained on this point.²⁴ On the brandy traffic both in the upper country and with the Indians in the towns, Champigny was of the more austere tradition, not necessarily through subjection to the bishop.²⁵ Champigny also agreed with the French opinion that Frontenac's wars were not advantageous even to the fur-trade.²⁶ But, in the administration of the trade and in fixing its prices, Champigny was capable of standing with the governor-general against Parisian capitalist influences: he was not perpetually supporting business rivals of Frontenac as Duchesneau had been.²⁷

None the less Frontenac illegally issued stores for the upper country without the intendant's authority,²⁸ and he improperly sold trading *congés* to help build his château.²⁹ Major Louvigny at Michillimackinac also improperly laid a levy of skins on his people there;³⁰ and the military in Montreal were prevented from following a rare French precedent in levying a duty on the city fair.³¹ At all points, Champigny maintained civil authority even in the face of the great captain.

Intendant Beauharnois was not in Canada long and adds nothing to our story. Entirely submissive,³² he had his own little game to play and chose not to add constitutional difficulties to it.

²²Meulles and La Barre encroached on each other's jurisdiction without, however, raising other new constitutional problems.

²³*B*, vol. 20-1: Minister to Frontenac, March 12, 1698; Arrêt of the king, April 2, 1698; Minister to Frontenac, May 21, 1698.

²⁴*B*, vol. 13, King's *mémoires*, 1687; vol. 15, 1689; vol. 16-2, 1692; *C*¹¹, vol. 10, Denonville and Champigny, Nov. 6, 1688; Champigny, Nov. 16, 1689; vol. 11, May 10, 1691; vol. 10, Champigny, "Mémoire instructif sur le Canada", May 10, 1691.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Champigny, May 10, 1691; *B*, vol. 15, King's *mémoire*, 1690; vol. 16-1, Minister to Champigny, April 7, 1691.

²⁶*B*, vol. 20-1: Minister to Champigny, March 21, 1698.

²⁷*B*, vol. 20-2: Minister to Frontenac, April, 1699.

²⁸*C*¹¹, vol. 11, "Mémoire instructif", Champigny, May, 10, 1691; *B*, vol. 16-1, King's *mémoire*, 1692; vol. 17-1, 1694.

²⁹*B*, vol. 19-1: King's *mémoire*, 1696.

³⁰*B*, vol. 16-2: Minister to Champigny, March 28, 1693.

³¹*B*, vol. 20-1: King's *mémoire*, 1698.

³²*C*¹¹, vol. 20, Beauharnois, Nov. 11, 1702; *B*, vol. 22, King's *mémoire*, 1701.

His difficulties were financial, but they did not arise with his governor-general, Vaudreuil, who at first welcomed card money.³³

With the Raudots we have more trouble. Jacques Raudot had to deal with an interference in justice by the local governor in Newfoundland and had to pacify a dispute between his sub-delegate in Acadia and Subercase, the governor in that dependency.³⁴ Vaudreuil himself maintained a contemptuous attitude to the judiciary which infuriated the intendant, and he ignored the intendants in choosing his despatch-bearers. Raudot struggled to maintain civil authority in Montreal, though Vaudreuil, who always admitted the supremacy of civil justice, denied that he prevented the execution of an *arrêt* against an officer.³⁵

In policy the Raudots were more stubborn. Jacques opposed the frontier raids as Champigny had done, and A. D. Raudot, in charge of finance, irritated Vaudreuil with nagging inquiries about expenses and expeditions in the upper country.³⁶ Vaudreuil once improperly sent an engineer of his own to inspect public works and the younger Raudot refused to pay him.³⁷

On the other hand, Raudot agreed with Vaudreuil in wishing to restore the twenty-five trading *congés* after their prohibition in 1709, though his principal lieutenant, Aigremont, wanted them only for Michillimackinac.³⁸ Raudot also wished to retain the card money as normal currency.³⁹ He joined the governor in trying to restrict retail trade to the towns,⁴⁰ and supported the Marquise de Vaudreuil's plan to limit the breeding of horses.⁴¹

But personal incompatibility and social jealousies based upon competing business groups in Canada made real co-operation impossible. Vaudreuil began to interfere in petty justice and used his authority to favour the trade of his wide family connections. He attacked Lino, Raudot's friend, who was suspected of gross financial irregularities. From the marquise's salon satirical songs emerged against this councillor. Raudot tried to suppress them. Then satire was turned against the house of Raudot, which fell in this Gallican warfare.⁴²

³³C¹¹, vol. 22, 3-43: Vaudreuil and Beauharnois.

³⁴C¹¹, vol. 28: The Raudots to the minister, Oct. 23, 1708.

³⁵C¹¹, vol. 27, Raudot *père* (Jacques), Nov. 10, 1707; vol. 31, Vaudreuil, Oct. 21, 1710.

³⁶C¹¹, vol. 30: Raudot *fils* (A.D.), Nov. 1, 1709.

³⁷The Raudots, Nov. 23, 1708.

³⁸C¹¹, vol. 31: Vaudreuil and Raudot, Nov. 2, 1710, Aigremont, Oct. 10, 1710. Raudot joined Vaudreuil in arguing against the Jesuit objections to the *congés* (C¹¹, vol. 33, "Mémoire sur l'état présent", 1712).

³⁹C¹¹, vol. 26: Raudot, Nov. 12, 1706.

⁴⁰B, vol. 29: Minister to Raudot, June 31, 1707.

⁴¹C¹¹, vol. 31: Vaudreuil and Raudot, Nov. 2, 1710.

⁴²C¹¹, vol. 20: Raudot, Sept. 2, 1709.

So we come to Michel Bégon, whose relations with Vaudreuil were friendly and henceforth normal. Whatever the real situation may have been under Raudot, Bégon had little complaint against Vaudreuil as far as interference in justice was concerned, though at the end of his career the old man used military authority against a *coureur de bois* who was escaping the civil courts through lack of evidence.⁴³

The Indians caused juridical dispute. Vaudreuil and the missionaries wished to accept Indian evidence in brandy cases, but Bégon did not trust them and established his point of view.⁴⁴ Ramezay as governor of Montreal also humoured the Indians in their claim that they were not subject to French law; but Bégon pointed out the injustice of punishing Frenchmen under a criminal law to which Indians were not subject.⁴⁵

Bégon was almost entirely free of the complications of military administration, but problems of war on the Indian frontier caused differences of opinion between him and Vaudreuil. Bégon improperly claimed a right to visa the governor's orders to officers in the upper country, and he was dilatory in supplying the Abnaki post, of which, like most intendants, he disapproved.⁴⁶ Also, like his predecessors, he tried to close Fort Frontenac. But in none of these matters did the difference of opinion strain personal relations.

In regard to the fur-trade, Bégon usually supported Canadian opinion, which was also often shared by the almost-Canadian Vaudreuil. But Vaudreuil opposed the Canadian demand for free trade in the bush, a demand which Bégon supported.⁴⁷ Bégon like Raudot supported Vaudreuil in a desire to restore the *congés*. For a short time, under the council of marine, he had equal authority with the governor-general in issuing them, but the mere right of visa was re-established.⁴⁸ Bégon claimed that Vaudreuil did not exceed the official limit of twenty-five *congés*, and he apparently winked at infractions through the governor's *permissions*. Possibly under the influence of Aigremont, Bégon was more generous to the *coureurs de bois* than were most intendants.⁴⁹

In general, then, Bégon became resigned to the situation up

⁴³C¹¹, vol. 47: Bégon, July 20, 1725; Vaudreuil, April 16, 1725.

⁴⁴C¹¹, vol. 34, Vaudreuil and Bégon, Nov. 15, 1713; Vaudreuil, Nov. 14, 1713; B, vol. 36-1, King's *mémoire*, 1714.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*; B, vol. 44-2, Council of marine, Dec. 1, 1721.

⁴⁶B, vol. 36-6, Minister to Bégon, July 10, 1715; vol. 41-4, Council to Bégon, May, 1719; vol. 39-2, King's *mémoire*, 1717.

⁴⁷C¹¹, vol. 44: Vaudreuil, March 10, 1721.

⁴⁸C¹¹, vol. 36: Vaudreuil to the Comte de Toulouse, 1716; pp. 138-42, Toulouse, 1716.

⁴⁹C¹¹, vol. 34: Vaudreuil and Bégon, Nov. 15, 1713.

country where the intendant's writ did not run. There the governor was left free for any corruption that he might discreetly pursue, while the intendant kept his own weather eye open in his own domain, the east. Even there, however, Bégon was not always wise. He proposed negro agricultural slavery for Canada.⁵⁰ Vaudreuil supported him in wanting slaves to develop the foundry at Three Rivers but eventually opposed agricultural slavery.⁵¹ Fortunately Bégon's proposal was impractical until better advice prevailed.

During the wheat shortages of 1714-5, Bégon established his famous corner in wheat to his own advantage. This led to the prohibition of trade to an intendant and to a new emphasis on freedom of trade within the settlements.⁵² Bégon took the lesson so deeply to heart that he soon afterwards had to restrain Vaudreuil from making a too drastic interference with trade in anticipation of another shortage.⁵³ Vaudreuil, however, took the part of the Canadian merchants protesting against the French pedlars; but Bégon successfully supported their freedom in the colony, because they kept prices down for the habitants and usually became settlers themselves.⁵⁴

In finance, Vaudreuil and Bégon had little conflict though much work in common. Early in Bégon's régime Vaudreuil on his own authority raised a levy of beaver skins for which Bégon had drawn bills on the treasury, but this was a unique occurrence.⁵⁵ A few years later a convalescent Vaudreuil angered Bégon by repudiating his signature on some card money that had been issued during his illness.⁵⁶ But during the critical and confused financial reorganization from 1713 to 1717 Vaudreuil normally gave Bégon effective support,⁵⁷ although he retained a naïve belief that the card money might be retired.⁵⁸

Innumerable instances arise to suggest the general amicable relationship,⁵⁹ which survived clashes of opinion and ambiguities

⁵⁰C¹¹, vol. 37, pp. 77-8.

⁵¹C¹¹, vol. 36, Vaudreuil's *mémoire* to the Duke of Orléans, 1716; B, vol. 39-4, King's *mémoire*, 1717; J. N. Fauteux, *Essai sur l'industrie au Canada sous le régime français* (Québec, 1927), 53.

⁵²B, vol. 38-2: Council of marine, June 16, 1716.

⁵³C¹¹, vol. 38: Vaudreuil and Bégon, Nov. 3, 1717.

⁵⁴C¹¹, vol. 42, Vaudreuil and Bégon, Oct. 26, 1721; vol. 40, Bégon, Nov. 2, 1724; Vaudreuil, Nov. 2, 1724.

⁵⁵C¹¹, vol. 33, pp. 27-51: Bégon, Nov., 1712.

⁵⁶B, vol. 38-2: Council of marine, June 26, 1716; King's *mémoire*, 1716.

⁵⁷Voluminous correspondence in C¹¹, vols. 33 and 34, and in B, vols. 34-2, 35-4, 36-1.

⁵⁸C¹¹, vol. 36: Council of marine to Bégon, May 12, 1717.

⁵⁹C¹¹, vol. 39, Bégon, Nov. 11, 1718; vol. 34, Vaudreuil, Nov. 14, 1713; and other less interesting occasions in adjusting the innumerable border-line cases of their two jurisdictions.

of jurisdiction. It may be significant that the gibes levelled against the marquise on account of her Canadian birth are never echoed by the intendant. The Canadian constitution was in a healthy state.

Then comes the strange interlude of Intendant Dupuy. Within two years a dispute between governor and intendant revived the bitterness and the deadlock of the quarrel between Frontenac and Duchesneau fifty years before. Novel procedure and ceremonial supplied an astonishing share of the object of discord. Dupuy claimed, as of right, two *archers* from the marines as formal escort, and later the right to have a permanent sentry posted at his door.⁶⁰ Relations became so strained that he had to go to the militia for his drummer on occasions of making public announcements, because he refused to order a marine drummer through the governor-general.⁶¹

Beauharnois picked up the frequent exasperated criticisms of the intendant and made them his own. He supported Attorney-General Collett in his claim that in Quebec, which was the seat of a superior council, the intendant could not sit as a judge alone. The claim was mistaken, but it divided the ranks of those who would normally support an intendant against a governor.⁶² Beauharnois supported charges that Dupuy, the lieutenant-general of the *prévôté*, and the judge at Montreal, used favouritism in their judgments, and that Dupuy used improper and undignified procedure in the council. The minister did not accept these charges as well founded;⁶³ but he criticized Dupuy for proceeding against a soldier in a case that did not concern the civil courts.⁶⁴ Dupuy, following French precedent by which the *maréchausée* police took their commissions from the intendant and obeyed him, threw his authority against Beauharnois's attempt to use them. Here the governor was right for the provost of the *maréchausée* took his oath before the governor in Canada.⁶⁵

This serious clash of jurisdiction occurred at the height of the celebrated disorders after the funeral of Bishop Saint Vallier.⁶⁶ In the absence of the new bishop and the vacancy of the deanery,

⁶⁰C¹¹, vol. 48, Beauharnois, Dec. 29, 1726; vol. 49, Dupuy, May 6, 1727; B, vol. 52-1, Minister to Beauharnois, May 18, 1728.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, Minister to Beauharnois, Aug. 18, 1728.

⁶²C¹¹, vol. 49, pp. 58-168: April 24, 1727.

⁶³C¹¹, vol. 50: Beauharnois, Dec. 22, 1727, Nov. 8, 1728, Dec. 30, 1728.

⁶⁴B, vol. 53-2: Minister to Hocquart, April 19, 1729.

⁶⁵C¹¹, vol. 50: Beauharnois, Jan. 16 and 23, 1728.

⁶⁶Garneau tells the story. Dupuy's report is published in *Report Arch. Que.*, 1920-1, pp. 78-105; full correspondence in C¹¹, vol. 50.

the archdeacon and the cathedral chapter each appointed vicars-general, who confused the administration of the church and eventually proceeded to excommunicate each other. Dupuy plunged in on the unpopular side of the archdeacon. The resistance of the chapter he met by summoning its members before the council, which they promptly refused to recognize as having jurisdiction over them. Beauharnois naturally was on the other side and interfered in council against the intendant.⁶⁷ The sharp issue between church and state was eventually allowed to drop; but in the meantime administration broke down. Beauharnois kept two councillors under arrest and assumed control of public order.⁶⁸

This series of differences was only the crisis. Beauharnois and Dupuy ignored each other's wishes in making appointments to their respective jurisdictions.⁶⁹ Dupuy threw his protection over an Irish doctor who arrived without a medical degree but with a royal licence to practise; Beauharnois tried to send him home.⁷⁰ Dupuy ignored the governor-general's rights in *police générale* by issuing instructions about marriage, which also were contrary to Canadian law.⁷¹ Dupuy was within his rights in farming out the Toronto post, though he did it unwisely, but he should have consulted the interest of the governor as officer in charge of Indian relations.⁷² He also was within his rights in trying to institute a reform in the billeting arrangements at Quebec, though it eventually proved impracticable. But in the controversy Beauharnois got into a scandalous clash of authority with the lieutenant of the *prévôté* who was acting on Dupuy's orders.⁷³ Although Dupuy succeeded in getting the commissioner of artillery to report to him,⁷⁴ he in his turn refused to wait upon the governor's orders.⁷⁵ Dupuy was recalled as soon as the minister heard of the disorders connected with the church; and the peaceful routine was resumed.

Hocquart's administration, which almost exactly coincides

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, Minister to Dupuy, March 8, 1728; Beauharnois, Oct. 18, 1728, Oct. 6, 1729; *Edits, ord.*, II, 322-6.

⁶⁸*C*¹¹, vol. 50: Beauharnois, May 8, 1728.

⁶⁹*B*, vol. 52-1: Minister to Beauharnois, May 15, 1728; to Dupuy, May 14, 1728.

⁷⁰*C*¹¹, vol. 49, p. 411: Sylvain, who went to Montreal and was later in trouble for assaulting the judge on the street.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 58-168: Minister to Dupuy, Sept. 15, 1727.

⁷²*B*, vol. 52-1: Minister to Dupuy, May 18, 1728; to Beauharnois, May 18, 1728.

⁷³*B*, vol. 52-3, pp. 240 and 246: Beauharnois, Jan. 16 and 23, 1728; Minister, June, 1728.

⁷⁴*B*, vol. 52-1: Minister to Beauharnois, May 14, 1728; to Dupuy, May 18, 1728.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 137: Minister to Dupuy.

with that of Charles de Beauharnois as governor-general, is the longest and most successful of the old régime. There were no more flagrant infractions of the administration of justice by the military. Montreal takes a higher position in the constitution with the establishment of the senior civil official there in higher rank and his entry into courts martial in the intendant's absence.⁷⁶ The governor and intendant sat together on courts specially erected for complicated cases, like that of the Charron brothers, teaching hospitaliers at Montreal.⁷⁷ They had fewer disputes than usual about appointments, although Hocquart once refused to keep a favourite officer of Beauharnois in employment.⁷⁸ But appointments could be made over the heads of both governor and intendant, as when a *grand voyer* was appointed against their joint recommendation,⁷⁹ and when a councillor was appointed from the Quebec law class, although the Canadian authorities had recommended another man.⁸⁰

Disputes in regard to the trading *congés* were a thing of the past.⁸¹ In a period when the minister at home became desperate about smuggling and illegalities in the fur-trade, Hocquart seems to have revived a passive acquiescence like that of Bégon. Both Beauharnois and Hocquart were accused of slackness in pursuing smugglers.⁸²

For a short time under Hocquart there was a decline in the brandy trade, but Hocquart, like Bégon before him and unlike Champigny, did not believe in the austere policy he was supposed to enforce. Hocquart made the protestations against Bishop Dosquet, and they were effective, but Beauharnois was behind him.⁸³ The dramatic days of the brandy controversy were over. Like Vaudreuil before him, Beauharnois co-operated with the intendant in times of food shortage, even when the intendant's policy was flavoured with corruption.⁸⁴ The governor's interests

⁷⁶The intendant's position in courts martial had been established under Meulles (*B*, vol. 11, Minister to Meulles, April 10, 1684) confirmed for Hocquart in 1729 (*B*, vol. 54-2, p. 491); the commissioner's position (*B*, vol. 57-2, April 22, 1732).

⁷⁷*B*, vol. 55-3: Minister, Jan. 23, 1731.

⁷⁸*B*, vol. 72: Minister to Beauharnois, April 26, 1741.

⁷⁹*C*¹¹, vol. 51: Beauharnois and Hocquart, Oct. 25, 1729.

⁸⁰*B*, vol. 70-1: Minister to Beauharnois and Hocquart, April 13, 1740.

⁸¹Beauharnois, like most governors, hoped, of course, to make something out of them (*B*, vol. 54-2, Minister to Beauharnois, April 4, 1730).

⁸²Instances are innumerable, e.g.: *B*, vol. 68, Minister to Beauharnois, July 11, 1739; *C*, vol. 69, King's *mémoire*, 1738.

⁸³*C*¹¹, vol. 53, Dosquet, Oct., 1730; *B*, vol. 59-1, Minister to Dosquet, Jan. 20, 1733; *B*, vol. 61-1, King's *mémoire*, April 17, 1734.

⁸⁴*B*, vol. 54-1, King's *mémoire*, 1730; Minister to Beauharnois and Hocquart, April 8, 1732.

remained largely in the west as under Frontenac and Vaudreuil, and the intendant's were more than ever in the east; but the difference ceased to create constitutional conflict. Their powers supplemented each other; rivalry lost its romance and its violence, and we are deprived of history in the older pattern.

There were minor complaints about Hocquart's administration of military pay and there were fewer irregularities than earlier; but Beauharnois seems to have refrained from interference.⁸⁵ Hocquart was faced with increasing difficulties arising from the renewal of the Indian wars and then war with the English; but he was much less vocal in complaint than had been Champigny and Raudot in similar circumstances.⁸⁶

Hocquart arrived with a regular system of card money and he pressed for the gradual inflation that followed, with the hearty support of the governor.⁸⁷ Beauharnois also shared responsibility for the unofficial inflation through engineer's chits and bills for public work, that passed into circulation.⁸⁸

A sharp clash of authority between the storekeeper, an intendant's man, and the commandant at Chambly was amicably settled by Hocquart.⁸⁹ This was typical of the twenty years of constitutional peace from 1729 to 1748. Possibly personal and family circumstances contributed to the harmony between the military and the civil servants of the department of colonies. The governor-general was kin of one intendant and brother-in-law of another; two of Hocquart's senior staff married into the families of two of Beauharnois's senior officers.⁹⁰ It had been better were this the last chapter in our story.

Bigot's romantic and sordid story tells of co-operation with his four governors-general. Under the last of them, the younger Vaudreuil, Canadian government was reserved for sinners only and it thrived on sharing. Under Galissonnière, Bigot was busy building up his personal machine. Under the miserly La Jonquière, there was much winking at the first manoeuvres for economic control, although La Jonquière agreed with the bishop against Bigot in wishing the Protestant interests to be driven out of Canada. Under Duquesne, there was less intimacy with the intendant

⁸⁵B, vol. 72, Minister to Beauharnois and Hocquart, April 16, 1741; to Hocquart, May 12, 1741; to Hocquart, May 6, 1741; vol. 68-1, to Hocquart, April 13, 1739.

⁸⁶Instances in *ibid.*, Minister to Hocquart, April 7, 1739; vol. 70-1, April 2, 1740.

⁸⁷B, vol. 59-2: Minister to Beauharnois and Hocquart, May 6, 1733.

⁸⁸B, vol. 72: Minister to Hocquart, April 4, 1741.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*: Minister to Hocquart, April 16, 1741.

⁹⁰Michel and Varin.

although he agreed with Bigot about the Protestants.⁹¹ Under Vaudreuil, the stronger personality and the more active mind led a team that made of Canadian administration a system of public loot. On the political and social side, Bigot's civil service, now a private army of his own, made smooth the path for any money that might come in.⁹² On the commercial side, the Cadet company with its connections in Bordeaux made the money. The two systems met and mingled profitably in the Cadet contract of 1756. In this contract Vaudreuil shared responsibility directly.⁹³

For all practical purposes our problem closes with this perverse solution. Quarrels between governor and intendant had not been normal for almost half a century. The responsibility for the failure of New France may yet rest, as tradition has placed it, on the shoulders of Louis XV and the Pompadour, but certainly not peculiarly on the faults of the constitution in Canada. The fiercest struggles between governor and intendant were exactly in the efficient period of *le roi soleil*; their fruitful co-operation occurred when they were left more completely to their own devices. The evil of the fruit of Vaudreuil and Bigot was their own corruption.

H. M. THOMAS

⁹¹On the Protestant merchants see: *C*¹¹, vol. 93, Bigot, Oct. 3, 1749; *B*, vol. 99, Minister to Duquesne and Bigot, May 30, 1754; *B*, vol. 101, to Vaudreuil and Bigot, July 15, 1755.

⁹²On the organization of Bigot's personal machine see *C*¹¹, vol. 104, "Mémoire pour Bigot". The best narrative remains that of L. E. Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la domination française d'après les archives de la marine et de la guerre* (Paris, 1855), amended by Jean de Maupassant, *Abraham Gradis* (Bordeaux, 1917), part II, caps 1 and 2.

⁹³On Cadet and Bigot see Alfred Barbier, "La Baronnie de la Touche-d'Avrigny" (*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, IX, 2e série, 1886, pp. 314-82, according to M. de Maupassant). On the contract see *B*, vol. 103, Minister to Bigot, March 31, 1756 and vol. 105, May, 1757.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NOVA SCOTIAN POLITICS

1758-1766

IT is small wonder that the history of Nova Scotia between the turbulent days of the Acadians and the American Revolution has, until recently, been largely neglected. What was happening there in those years had very little to do with the main currents of development either in Europe or in America. A northern appendage of the American empire, its connections with the continental colonies were of the slightest. A few cargoes of fish to the West Indies, a small Bay of Fundy trade with Boston and other New England ports, an occasional shipment of produce to Great Britain were its sole contributions to imperial commerce. With Quebec it had nothing in common. The people, between ten and fifteen thousand in number, were chiefly of New England stock, the consequence of an immigration from across the bay, a struggling hard-bitten folk, their interests totally occupied in eking from the soil a precarious livelihood. Halifax at this period was the only centre of any real political life. There, a little cluster of officials and merchants disbursed the imperial subsidy, which was still necessary for the maintenance of the public services, much to their own interests. Beneath the shadow of the more opulent and advanced sister colonies to the south, Nova Scotia was the Cinderella of the imperial family, little known and little respected.

There should be no review of the beginnings of political life in this isolated community without reference to certain social facts. Of these the most important is the character of the central and dominating Halifax settlement. When Lord Halifax drew up his plan for the colonization of Nova Scotia, the new town was to have two purposes, that of a fortified stronghold and base for operations against the French, and that of a centre of commerce and industry. The first objective had been attained, but largely at the expense of the second. By 1755 practically the whole civilian population of Halifax was engaged in catering to the military and naval forces. Commerce and industry were lost sight of in the midst of the multifold preparations for the expulsion of the French. Here, then, was a civil community which existed only as incidental to the main business before the rulers of the province, a community devoted, to an amazing extent, to the

selling and consuming of rum. This is an eyewitness's account of Halifax in 1760:

We have upwards of one hundred licensed houses and perhaps as many more which retail spirituous liquors without license; so that the business of one half of the town is to sell rum and the other half to drink it. You may from this circumstance judge of our morals and naturally infer we are no enthusiasts in religion. . . Between this place and Cape Sables are many fine harbours, commodiously situated for the codfishery; and the rivers furnish great abundance of salmon. The fleets which have been here during the war have enriched the town, but have given a mortal blow to industry. We have but few people of genius among us; and not one discerns a thirst after Knowledge, either useful or speculative.¹

As the leaders of this community which, it would seem, lived so low in the moral scale, there was a small group of New England merchants. Their fervid campaign for an assembly and for a measure of political power for themselves has been so widely recounted as to require little comment here. But one essential fact which has been often overlooked, or one side of the story which has not been approached, is that while they were waging a battle against so-called tyranny they were simultaneously seeking their own pecuniary advantage. The struggle for the "rights of Englishmen" was likewise a scramble for pounds, shillings, and pence. The distribution of the parliamentary grant, it may safely be said, was the cause of most of the political agitation in Halifax. While trade and industry languished, while the bounty on cured fish was withdrawn, the merchants saw thousands of pounds expended for military purposes; and the prejudice against the military was accordingly carried to great lengths. The lavish flow of public money was confined to a few privileged circles. When the merchants drew up their written complaints against the "placemen", they endeavoured to show, on the same pages, how much more cheaply governmental contracts could be executed by themselves:

The parliamentary grant, My Lord, may be compared to a man who throws a few guineas among a crowd, there is great scrabbling but the luck happens to those few who have the guineas; with this difference that, that happens only by chance, this is distributed by direction; thus, you will see, My Lord, in Halifax three or four rich men, the rest are all beggars who would, if they dared, call themselves freemen.²

¹L. Sabine, *Report on the principal fisheries of the American seas* (Washington, 1853), 62.

²J. B., *An account of Nova Scotia: Two letters to a noble lord* (London, 1756).

This strenuous striving for the power of political patronage, which our letter-writer describes, was to be by far the greatest feature of Nova Scotian politics for the following quarter of a century. The election of the first Nova Scotian assembly in 1758 represented a victory for the shrewd, eager, and virulent merchants. Lawrence, in the midst of his military activities, was compelled to divide with them the rule of the province. We shall now record their story, endeavouring to disclose the aims and motives of those who took prominent places upon the Halifax scene.

In the first place the new legislators of Nova Scotia exhibited precisely the same tendencies as had those of the older colonies. Their position was not so strong, for the imperial government supplied most of the funds to maintain the administration; and their activities were therefore restricted. But they extended their power and influence far beyond what could be expected to be the limits of the legislature of a colony that was financially dependent upon the motherland. The governor's control of the parliamentary subsidy seems to have been of small assistance to him. The assemblymen were all New Englanders and they sought the same control which the representatives of the people exerted upon the prerogative in their own country. The first weeks of the first session brought the impending struggle into plain relief. The governor's council, which before had been the sole legislative body, rather than sink to the subdued status of the upper houses of the other colonies, laid claim to the same powers and privileges as those of the house of lords of Great Britain. The assembly, disliking the analogy between itself and the house of commons, pressed colonial precedents:

And they think it most reasonable to proceed after the forms and customs of the Houses of Representatives in the Plantations, it not being clear to them that either the Council or the House can claim the privileges or keep exactly to the forms and methods used by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.³

Having enunciated this doctrine, the assembly proceeded to put it into practice. Officials of the various departments of government were called before them and examined, even in cases where the expenditure of the imperial subsidy was concerned. They usurped to themselves administrative functions such as the supervision of the erection of public buildings. Government officials were appointed by a joint committee of council and assembly.

³Public record office, London, *C.O.* 220, vol. 5, Assembly journal: Assembly to council, Oct. 19, 1758.

The familiar issue of whether or not officers of the court of admiralty were responsible to the representatives of the people was also raised by the militant lower house. One, Suckling, charged the admiralty with "taking fees grievous, oppressive and such as the subject is unable to bear"; and a petition was borne to Lawrence, asking that the table of fees be brought before the assembly. The subsequent refusal and the showing of precedents of the crown's independence in the court drew forth a resolution of "high contempt". The democratic enthusiasm, worthy indeed of New England, was roused to the pitch of proclaiming the right of the assembly to inquire into all complaints raised by the people.⁴

The easy manner in which the assembly gained its objectives and assumed virtually all of the privileges held by lower houses in the other colonies seems to have received very little attention in England. The provincial council had fought many issues with the assembly but in one way or another had been reduced to acquiescence. Lawrence, upon these matters of civil government, had usually professed ignorance; and, when called upon to arbitrate between the two legislative bodies, had thrown this responsibility upon others. Thus, Nova Scotia in the very first year of the new assembly gave ample evidence that it was in no way to be a model colony as its founders had hoped. Before the surging spirit of democracy, the prerogative had withered to almost as great an extent as elsewhere. Two years later the board of trade lamented the many visible traces of New England influence in the laws of the colony, but, in characteristic fashion, took no measures to obliterate them:

We observe in general that most of these laws, where they differ from the laws of England, are taken chiefly from the Acts of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and tho' the approbation of the Crown to these Acts might well warrant such a precedent, yet it must be considered that many of them were passed in the very infancy of the Charter, when the administration of Government here at home was too well employed in settling those principles upon which the present happy constitution of the country rests, to attend to the lesser tho' important consideration of what might be the principles of colony constitution and government.⁵

But this pious sentiment of eighteenth-century Whiggism, with its echo of the Glorious Revolution, failed to convey to the Nova Scotians a firmer sense of obedience to the prerogative and the royal instructions.

⁴*Ibid.*, Assembly journal, 1758.

⁵*C.O.* 218, vol. 6: Board of trade to Belcher, Dec. 12, 1760.

Aside from these constitutional issues which divided the official from the non-official community, there were more material sources of disturbance. The economic state of the province was, as we have noted, based on no secure foundation. Such money as there was came from either the parliamentary disbursement or the visits of fleets and armies. The assemblymen were anxious to revive commerce but prepared to take measures for its resuscitation only on lines radically different from those advanced by the governor and council. The ideas they held were put into execution during the first session. Duties were levied upon rum and spirituous liquors which were mostly consumed by the visiting soldiers and sailors; and most of the proceeds were devoted to the payment of bounties to the people for the production of fish and farm goods. This was an easy method of putting into circulation a large sum of money where before there had been very little; and, needless to say, it benefited the merchants, its proponents, more than anybody else. The council on first reading rejected the Bounty Bill. But the assembly, imitating the tactics of lower houses in the other provinces, threatened to refuse to meet and to hold up the whole business of government. After a conference the council weakened in its opposition and the bill was accepted without amendment.⁶

On all other controversial issues the council was similarly obliged to yield. The assembly won a decisive victory upon the liquor licensing bill; and powers of withdrawing licenses were taken out of the hands of the governor and placed in those of the justices of the peace. The council's monopoly of offices and patronage was next attacked by a resolution to farm the customs duties and the assembly thus deprived two of its most execrated opponents of their fees and emoluments. After much degrading altercation, the privilege of farming was sold to Malachy Salter, one of the leaders in the agitation for calling an assembly, for £2,500. The arrival of numerous naval and military forces at Halifax in 1759 more than justified his enterprise, for the duties which he collected amounted to several times the sum paid for the contract. The practice of farming the duties, though to some degree justified by precedents in the colonies, was regarded by officialdom with great distrust and led in later years to violent controversy.

A period of loose and lax finance had thus begun. Commitments had been made for the payment of definite sums of money

⁶C.O. 220, vol. 5, Assembly journal, Nov. 11, 1758.

with a very indefinite and uncertain source of revenue. The credit of the province could not but suffer. Serious consequences are not visible until after 1760, the year in which the immigration from New England commenced. Thereafter, the problem of balancing the provincial accounts was immediate and serious. The assembly steadily refused to consider any other form of taxation, for it was held that the people were too poor to bear direct impositions. Year by year, owing to the ruinous bounties, the colony sank into greater debt. As early as 1762, Belcher, the lieutenant-governor, urged the devotion of the revenue to more salutary purposes and to the liquidation of the already too large provincial debt, rather than to the continued payment of bounties:

The extensive engagements by acts of those assemblies you will find loudly calling upon you to maintain the justice and honour of government. If those acts have incautiously extended generosity beyond justice, it will be your part to reform this error and to give every honest creditor his just preference to the claimants of gratuities and bounties.⁷

But the assembly persisted in its former course and more money was borrowed to distribute among the people. In order to raise further revenue the rum traffic was encouraged, but the chief result of these efforts was an increase in the sale of British spirits which struck hard at the flourishing distilleries of Mauger, Butler, and Fillis, the local manufacturers. This state of affairs drew a discriminating act against British spirits to which, however, Belcher refused assent as a measure designed "for establishing our own distilleries in superiority to those of the Mother Kingdom".⁸ In 1763 the revenue continued to fall and the assembly found itself obliged to consider ways and means to reduce the public debt. It was decided to retain the duties on rum and to levy a new tax on the importation of tea and loaf sugar, but this device proved of little avail, for, during the second session of that year, £4,000 were borrowed, chiefly to pay for the bounties. In 1764 the debt was £12,000, and a year later, though many of the bounties had run out, it rose to £16,000. Various expedients to ameliorate the situation, such as acts fixing values upon Spanish dollars, either were disallowed by the home government or proved useless. All confidence in the credit of the province had vanished; and holders of government notes were pressing for payment. Even the mild and fatuous Wilmot, usually a catspaw in the hands of those who surrounded him, remonstrated gently:

⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 6, Assembly journal, March 17, 1762: Address of Belcher.

⁸*C.O.* 217, vol. 19: Belcher to the board, Oct. 21, 1762.

The General Assembly, however commendable in their zeal for exciting and encouraging industry, and providing for other useful and necessary expenses, are blamable for presuming too much on a revenue so variable and fluctuating in its nature; and thereby engaging themselves for a certain sum of money out of uncertain funds.⁹

The board of trade made no attempt to divert the assembly from the course into which it had drifted. Beyond frequent nullifications of provincial acts which were directed against British creditors, it did little except to exhort the governor to obtain a permanent revenue in order to strengthen the prerogative:

And indeed it is very much to be wished, both in reason and propriety, that if the levies now raised upon His Majesty's subjects in Nova Scotia by the import and excise laws, which are applied to premiums doubtful in their policy, were converted into a permanent revenue, applicable to the support of the civil establishment, under proper limitations, which alone can create that independency in the affairs of government which is essential to its stability and happiness.¹⁰

From this outline some of the objects sought by the ruling directorate of merchants may be seen. In these years in which poverty so oppressed the province, in which the people were only establishing themselves upon the land, and in which there was scarcely any trade, they were endeavouring to stimulate commerce on a policy of cheap credit, debased currency, and easy money. The imperial government, ever watchful for the interests of creditors residing within the British Isles, thwarted most of these attempts as it had on previous occasions when other colonies had evinced like inclinations. The Bounty Acts were probably of more significance than the other efforts which were made to revive trade. Their objects, as declared by the assembly, were to encourage industry and to help sustain the people in the early and most difficult years of settlement before they could raise sufficient for their necessities. Just to what extent these objects were attained it is difficult to say. Certainly they had no quick effect which was immediately visible, for, many years after, the people remained so poor that it was impossible to tax them. On the other hand, it is easy to blame the assembly for the appropriation of practically the total revenue to this purpose, to the great neglect of public works and communications which were badly needed. Moreover, the fact that the bounties most obviously

⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 21: Wilmot to the board, June 24, 1764.

¹⁰*C.O.* 218, vol. 6: Board to Wilmot, July 13, 1764.

benefited the merchants of Halifax, the sponsors of the acts, who ultimately acquired most of the money thrown into circulation, indicates that they were designed most of all to serve the interests of this little group.

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to outline the careers of two persons who were of the first importance in the history of Nova Scotia until the time of the Revolutionary War. The death of Lawrence and the accession of the pompous and vain Jonathan Belcher in 1761 ushered in six years of weak administration in which there rapidly crystallized out of the former opposing groups a strong party of merchants and officials who virtually ruled the province and secured for themselves the total power and patronage. This group centred about the leadership of Joshua Mauger and Michael Francklin.

Mauger was the son of a London Jew who early in life had been sent by his father on a trading voyage to the West Indies, where he remained for many years to his great profit. He gradually worked up an illicit trade with Louisbourg and the French islands until he became the foremost smuggler of the American seas. About 1750 he made Halifax the headquarters of his widespread interests; and in the early years of the town he appeared as the leader of the merchants who figured in the prohibited trade with the French.¹¹ But in London he had behind him interests which were apparently powerful. For, while prosecuting his intercourse with Louisbourg, Mauger was occupying the post of victualler to the navy at Halifax; and in later years he secured large contracts for the feeding of the fleets and armies which fought at Louisbourg and Quebec. In the late fifties he had a fishing-station at Halifax, and established trading-posts at Pisiqid, Chignecto, and elsewhere. He was a favourite of government both at London and Halifax; his fortune and properties made him a dominant figure throughout the wide area to which his activities spread themselves.

About 1760, however, Mauger, apparently wearying of his life in American exile, left his business interests in Nova Scotia and the West Indies in the hands of deputies and took himself and his fortune to England. Having set up a business at Southampton, he shortly became member of parliament for Poole.¹² Henceforth his influence with the ministry upon American affairs seems to have been very great. His close acquaintance with the colonies had made him an authority of great importance; and his cor-

¹¹*Ibid.*, vol. 4: Board to lords of admiralty, Jan. 14, March 6, 1752.

¹²Mauger's connections with officialdom are indicated in the *Dartmouth Mss.*, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

respondence with John Pownall, secretary to the board of trade, gave him a real power in the direction of colonial affairs.

The man whom he left behind to manage his affairs in Nova Scotia was Michael Francklin, another adventurer like himself, who had come to Halifax shortly after the founding of the town. Francklin commenced his Nova Scotian career as a seller of rum; but his popularity and business acumen soon raised him to a higher degree. In some way he became associated with Mauder and shared in the profits of that most successful *entrepreneur*. By 1760 he had a large and lucrative trade throughout the province. When the New England immigrants arrived in the year following, he seized the new opportunities and opened up an intercourse with their settlements. Soon he had a large number of people in his debt; and it was said in Halifax that members of the council were in a like situation. His influence was great everywhere. It was around this able and forceful man that the formerly discordant elements in the community were to be united in a compact which could successfully defy the governor himself and which, it seems, with the aid of Mauder in London, could rule the province as it pleased.

It is, of course, unwise to be too dogmatic at this part of the story. This is a point which the writer cannot prove beyond the shadow of a doubt, for secret history is not to be found in state documents. There are available very few private papers; but nearly every one supports the contention that there was such a clique of persons whose intentions, though they may have been well-meant, were selfish and exclusive. Many inquiries in London for papers which might supply additional information concerning Mauder ended fruitlessly. With official correspondence alone it is difficult to trace the activities of such a group as that which ruled Nova Scotia at this period.

Francklin's rise to power in Nova Scotia was marked by several signal triumphs the most important of which we shall notice. Belcher, in the ecstasy of his appointment to the lieutenant-governorship, had turned the general dislike of the merchant class for him into a violent hatred. In his first instructions from the board of trade greater economy had been commanded; and Belcher did not conceal his jubilation over the curtailment in the expenditure of public money upon which many people relied for their maintenance. He drew upon himself the resentment of the influential Gerrish brothers by the closing of their brief monopoly of the Indian trade. And a further series of unfortunate blunders,

notably the proclamation reserving the whole eastern coast to the Indians, increased the public dissatisfaction. The combat between governor and merchants was first joined over the prolongation of the Debtors' Protection Act.¹³

In the early days of the colony, in 1750, the legislative council had granted immunity from prosecution in the courts to all debtors, except for goods imported into the province. The object had been, of course, to encourage immigration. Proof of the success of the act was visible in 1760, the year of its expiration, by the popular movement in favour of renewal. The assembly acted upon the demand of the people; but the bill which was submitted to the council was rejected. Belcher had apparently headed the opposition; and, when early in 1762, he called an urgent meeting of the legislature, he felt the fury of the popular resentment. Joseph Gerrish, aided by five or six members of the assembly, managed to prevent the gathering of a quorum, so that the despatch of important public business was prevented. The angry lieutenant-governor, fearing to risk dissolution, prorogued the house and threatened six of the seven absentees, who held government employments of various kinds, with dismissal from their posts. He wrote complainingly to the board, asking for instructions to refuse assent to the Debtors' Protection Act which he now feared would pass council as well as assembly:

I beg leave to add that unless it meets with some public discountenance such an example may be introductive of liberties, or rather licentiousness of the most fatal tendency in a rising settlement, composed of inhabitants resorting hither from the American colonies, where the freedom of the people has been too often maintained against His Majesty's just prerogatives, in the power of judging of, doing good to and preserving the true rights and liberties of all his subjects.¹⁴

The board of trade approved of Belcher's conduct in refusing to allow the colony to remain an asylum for debtors and ne'er-do-wells. The lieutenant-governor was given a free hand; and Gerrish with five others, notably Malachy Salter and Jonathan Binney, was dismissed from his offices in the militia and on the bench of justices. Nevertheless the assembly was determined to effect its purposes. Joshua Mauger was appointed agent for the people of the province in London, and the members settled down to await developments. In the meantime the obstructionist

¹³A good description of the situation may be found in the *Brown Mss.* (Additional Mss., British Museum), vol. 19,073, "Observations".

¹⁴*C.O.* 217, vol. 18: Belcher to the board, Jan. 11, 1762.

tactics were continued and Belcher's life was made thoroughly miserable. The assembly at this stage passed a new bill, extremely contrary to English law, which considerably lessened the penalties of debt. But Belcher, whose meticulous sense of justice had been offended, refused it assent as "loose and unguarded against frauds and perjuries".¹⁵

But, while Belcher's position seemed secure, he had for other reasons been steadily drawing the wrath of the board of trade upon his head. He had promised to curtail expenditure; instead he plunged the province into more financial commitments. His extravagance, his blunders, his inability to soothe and calm the turbulence of his subordinates, must have convinced the board that this hair-splitting legalist could not be a good administrator. In December, 1762, a memorial had been received from Mauger, praying that the new governor of the province, Henry Ellis, should receive orders to go to Nova Scotia, or else that Belcher should be removed as "unacquainted and unskilled in the art of government". As a consequence, Ellis was ordered to sail for Halifax but, rather than do so, he resigned.¹⁶ The complete discomfiture of the lieutenant-governor was not foreshadowed until June 20, 1763, when in the assembly a letter was read from Michael Francklin. The communication stated that Mauger, working behind the scenes in London, had procured sanction for the prolongation of the Debtors' Protection Act; that he had used his influence to secure approval for other bills to which Belcher had refused assent; that he had received assurance that several of Belcher's executive acts would be annulled.¹⁷ It was not long before this indication of the way in which official opinion had been drifting was followed by the withdrawal of Belcher's commission; and, in the instructions to Montague Wilmot, the new governor, it was ordered that no chief-justice should ever again receive the authority of chief executive.

That Francklin had too much anticipated official opinion is certain for, on October 21, 1763, Wilmot was directed to inquire into the working of the Debtors' Protection Act and received the board's opinion that it could not be considered a wise or beneficial measure.¹⁸ But it is clear that as soon as the new ruler reached Halifax, he fell into the hands of Francklin's party. Before he

¹⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 19: Belcher to the board, Oct. 21, 1762.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Mauger to the board, Dec. 2, 1762, and *C.O.* 391, vol. 69, Board of trade minutes, Dec. 2, 1762.

¹⁷*C.O.* 220, vol. 6: Assembly journal, June 20, 1763.

¹⁸*C.O.* 218, vol. 6: Board to Wilmot, Oct. 21, 1763.

arrived, the victory of the popular party had been taken for granted and the act had received the approval of both council and assembly. Wilmot readily adopted the local point of view and reported that the assembly held no other view than that of promoting justice. Many people, he said, had paid off all their debts under the protection of the act and, should it be removed, there would be great distress throughout the province. He therefore assented to a three years' extension.¹⁹ The triumph of the merchants and the assembly was complete; but they were not satisfied before they had further humiliated Belcher. To weaken his authority in the supreme court an address was presented to the home government, requesting the appointment of two puisne judges to the bench. When the assembly undertook to pay their salaries, the request was granted; and Isaac Deschamps and Charles Morris received their commissions.

This episode is sufficient to indicate the methods by which Francklin and his party secured for themselves almost unquestioned sway over the affairs of the province for twelve years. Wilmot's weakness, together with the growing wealth and consequence of Francklin, hastened the process. Belcher, the opponent of the Bounty Bills and of indiscriminate protection to debtors, was more and more thrust into the background. The final triumph of the erstwhile rum-seller came in 1766 with his appointment to the lieutenant-governorship. One of his rivals averred that he bought it. Whether this be true or not, the logical assumption is that Francklin, working through the instrumentality of Mauger, by surreptitious means, made himself the king's deputy as well as the leading citizen of the province.

And so the once turbulent and dissatisfied group of merchants and traders crystallized under Francklin's leadership into a colonial aristocracy with estates at Windsor and in other parts of the province. The Halifax cliques united and for many years violent partisanship seems to have been extinguished. As vacancies occurred in the council, Francklin's henchmen were drafted into it. Green, Morris, Bulkely, and Belcher, who had sat under Lawrence, in varying degrees accepted his authority. William Nesbitt, who occupied the curiously paired offices of speaker of the assembly and attorney-general, was his friend and ally. The Gerrish brothers, Binney, Fillis, and the merchants who dominated the assembly were ranged behind him in a harmonious grouping. All were reconciled to his leadership for there

¹⁹C.O. 217, vol. 21: Wilmot to the board, Feb. 25, 1764.

seem to have been offices and favours for all. When William Cawthorn, a London merchant with a large trade in the plantations, visited Halifax towards the close of 1766, he found Francklin at the head of a faction which dominated the colony and which, after refusing him a grant of land, virtually drove him out of the country for fear that he would go into business there.²⁰ It was this faction which, in the opening years of the American Revolution, so bitterly fought Legge; and, when the Loyalists came to Nova Scotia, they found the same group endeavouring to exclude them from office and patronage.

These, then, are the homely beginnings of Nova Scotian politics. The scene is a rustic and provincial one, filled with petty issues and small personalities which are not suggestive of the spacious days of Howe in the century which followed. But the same has been true of nearly all new and frontier settlements. And, even in our own time, the political art is one associated with all sorts of misdemeanours.

W. S. MACNUTT

²⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 44: Cawthorn's memorial, Oct. 5, 1766.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM RICHARDSON WHO VISITED LABRADOR IN 1771

THE following short journal was written by Lieutenant William Richardson, of the British Royal Navy, while on a survey of the coast of Labrador in 1771. He was the son of David and Janet Richardson; was born on May 28, 1748, and died while still a young man on July 20, 1772. His mother *née* Stobo was sister to Major Robert Stobo who fought under Washington against the French and was left as a hostage after the defeat at Fort Mifflin in 1754.

Richardson, apparently, made at least three voyages to Labrador. He speaks of a previous visit there in 1767, and he was, probably with Captain Cook on his survey in 1765, as an entry at the end of the journal states that he sketched the long boat of the *Thunderer* sinking near Portsmouth, England, on February 2, 1765, and also made a sketch of the *Lark* saluting the *Guernsey* in Newfoundland, July 25, 1765. According to Mr. Arthur Kitson,¹ Cook sailed for Newfoundland between these dates, and young Richardson was most likely with him as an apprentice.

The voyage which the journal describes was apparently in the brig *Grenville* as Captain Cartwright in his Labrador journal² under date of September 27, 1771, states: "A vessel appeared in the harbour [Chatteau Bay], the brig *Grenville* commanded by Mr. Michael Lane who had been all summer surveying the coast northward of this place", and Richardson writes of being at Chatteau about this time.

Richardson evidently took keen delight in observing the life which he saw on the coast, especially the characteristics and habits of the people. To this is chiefly due whatever interest the journal may have. The manuscript ends abruptly. There is appended to it a "Frontice peice", in which is given a list of sundry sketches made by Richardson. The writer would like to trace these, and Richardson's "Midshipmans Journalls", and would appreciate any assistance which readers of this REVIEW may be able to give.

¹Arthur Kitson, *Captain James Cook* (New York, 1907).

²C. W. Townsend (ed.), *Captain Cartwright and his Labrador journal* (Boston, 1911), 95.

The original of the journal is in the possession of the writer in Melbourne, Australia. A photographic reproduction is in the library of the University of Toronto.

SIDNEY C. RICHARDSON

On Friday May the 9th 1771 left Depford at 9 in the morning and on Saturday 18 sailed from Spithead,—on the 25 lost sight of Scilly Light when it began to blow strong west^{dly}: on the 29 at 2 P.M. anch^d at Baltimore, the first harbour to the East^d of Cape Clear in Ireland: it is the ancientist burrough in Ireland except Drogheda, tho' it is only a number of irregular clay huts, so much unlike a town that after walking through it a person very reasonably ask'd where the town was. The common people are very poor, scarce ever eating anything but potatoes, and they never boil them above half as much as we do in Engl^d.

The Gentry (if I may judge by the Behavior of Mr. Townshind of Kingcove and some others) are polite, well bred, and fond of entertaining strangers with hospitality. We lay here till the 6 of June: all the time of our stay it blew very hard about W.N.W. Nothing remarkable in our passage towards the coast of Labradore: about 60 leagues from Land in Lat 53.30 saw 4 New England sloops fishing for whale. On the 12 of July arriv'd on the coast, and in stand^s into a harbour saw a White Bear, who quitted the land to cross over, and was shot from our boat that pursued him: they rowed up close to him & fired a ball into his Brain that instantly kill'd him—He was 7 feet from his nose to his tail, extreemly Muscular thick & clumsy. The Sailors soon had a good large joint of him on the Spit, & for the Better securing it in roasting lash'd it round with String and skewered it with marlin spikes. Found the Sea Duck, Gull, and Pidgeon breeding on most of the small Islands. Plenty of wild parsley or Alexander growing about high water mark. Its good when rightly boiled by way of greens. On the 22nd saw 5 Shallops standing to the Southward; most of them having only one Sail we supposed they were Indians, but could not positively determine as we only saw them crossing a passage formed by the Islands towards the sea. In the morning of the 23d 12 Eskimaux came on board in their Canoes (Caiacks I should say) calling "tout comarade" as usual, at a great distance. They all appear'd healthy stout men about 5 ft 7 or 8 inches high; they truck'd very little having only what they usually carry in their canoes except 2 or 3 seal skins & as many sticks of whalebone—I truck'd two knives (at 2^d each) for a piece of whalebone 11 ft long: I wanted some bows and arrows but could not make a bargain. One offered me his canoe for a large double blanket which I was very sorry I could not Spare. They shoot their arrows but indifferently, tho' they throw the three prong'd dart admirably well as far as 60 or

70 Yards. They were all about 30 years of age little under or over except two who were not above 20. They sung and danced in their way and seem'd pleas'd to see us: they eat a good deal of our tallow and biscuit, but they liked the scalps of the raw cods heads best & indeed this was the first day we had caught any cod tho' we tryd the day we came in. Their names were Chelie Capic Ickpiaruc Camishima Imituck Nawilluc Pudnioc Pevallo Newichina and Yiockwina. Chelie I remembered to have seen at Chatteau in 1767; he recolected me first and made me understand we had wrestled together. Capic was about 5 ft 9 inch stout and well made, had but one eye, seem'd more thoughtful than the others and threw the dart remarkably well. Imituc cheated the master out of a new fishing line, had but one hand and a sly designing look. They seem'd pleased at my making myself understood to them, and were very assiduous in telling me the names of things in their language, which I shall set down a little farther on. They went away in the afternoon, and next day sail'd to the South^d in their shallops. On the 25 we hall'd the seine in a pool about 40 yards broad & 80 yards long, that was supply'd only by a run of water, and caught 27 fine large salmon: the next day we took the great boat and went to the same place and hauld the seine twice; the first haul we caught 50 salmon and some trout; and the 2nd haul we caught 186 salmon & 16 large trout. In generall the salmon were from 3 ft to 3 f. 7 inches long and very thick in proportion; scarce any of them had spawn'd, tho' I daresay they had been near a month in the fresh water most of them. Opposite a pretty high island with a good marking of stones on the highest part, there appears to be a very good trap for seal form'd by a part of the main and a small island in the middle. Right opposite to this small island, upon the main, is a cave near 40 ft in from the mouth, and about 14 or 16 high, of an oval shape & has been inhabbited, but a long time ago. On the 4 of August we caught plenty of cod at anchor in a harbour and some caplins. On the 20 hauld the seine at the foot of a small brook, between the salt and fresh water, and at once caught 660 of the large sea trout and 3 salmon —on the 25 I shot a Buck on the island and a very neat pretty animal he was, with a compleat summer coat of hair: he weigh'd upwards of 50 lbs the Quarter; was just come to full growth tho his horns would not have been very large.

This Island is very much shotted and has many beaten paths both of Deer and Otter. I think it was on the 30 we saw a Doe and fawn take the water to swim from an island to the main. We went in the boat, chased, soon came up, shot the doe and brought the fawn on board alive. The Doe was small and slender in comparison to the Buck: the Buck was 6 feet and better long & 4 feet 6 inch at the shoulder.

Began to wood on 29 and left of the 5 September. This bay has 2 or three rivers likely to contain many salmon in spring or summer; the land about is very woody, with some very fine groves of Birch close to the water side, with some currants, raspberrys, hurt 2 sorts, Partridge berrys, cranberrys, heathberrys and baking apples; both the latter are plenty all over the coast and begin to be ripe the latter end of July; the others are not ripe till the begining of September. At, and a little above high water mark all round this bay there grows fine high ryegrass. There are many well beaten Deer paths on the land hereabout, as well as other paths; and the track & Dung of Bear in great plenty.

On the North side the entrance into the inw^d bay is a hill about 1700 feet high, which is much higher than any land near it, and has a mark of stones at the top. The Canadians had 3 wigwaums here in different places all of which appeard to be made in the winter or spring; there was likewise 7 or 8 more but they all appeard to have been erected long ago. There are more spruce Partridges in the woods than I have seen anywhere in this country. I walk'd along the skirts of a wood one day about a mile and a half, and shot 3 brace and a half of spruce partridges two brace of which I laid down that I might pick them up as I returned the same way; but at my return which was in about half an hour, I found an eagle, which I had seen not far from where I left the first brace, had eat the breasts quite of the two birds, and had made a begining at one of the other two that lay above a quarter of a mile from the first. They all lay a little conceal'd; and I think the eagles finding them so readily is a small proof of the notion that they possess a quite penetrating eye. On the 15 of September we saw the sail of a shallop over a low island toward the sea; upon which the boat was sent on shore to make a fire. The next day we sail'd down the Bay in the morning, when we saw an Eskimau coming towards us in his canoe; he ventured on b^d without appearing frightened. I found I could make him understand me better than the former Eskimaux; which proceeded probably from the pains I took to learn the words the others had told me, all of which I had at will; for whenever I was in the woods alone and thought of the Indians, I began to speak all I knew of their language out loud as if I had been endeavouring to make them understand me. This is a very common instance when a person has any natural desire to learn whatsoever language. On the 17 he brought his shallop with his wives and children, his mother &c. One child about 2 year old was at the breast; it could walk and talk a little; its mother kept it generally in the hood of her jacket where it was continually eating one thing or another, blubber, raw cod, spruce tops &c. They seem to take good care of their Children, and all that I saw that could stand wore exactly

the same dress as the men, little boots and everything in proportion. This mans name was Ickpiaruc; he was about 40; his mother seemed a little t'other side of 60 and so strangely ugly that I never saw anything to compare to her, that might help me in Description, therefore I'll say nothing more on this head.

On the [?] of Sept we left this Bay, and in sailing out we stopt at the north point of the entrance, and in 18 fm water caught Cod as plenty as ever I saw in my life, some of them 4 feet 6 inch long. On the [?] we arrived at Cap Charles River, where a Family of Eskimaux had winterd: the head man of the Family was called Attoojack: they were very peaceable and obedient all the time they stay'd; indeed so they ought to have been for they would have starv'd once if it had not been that Capt Cartright supply'd them with a good number of seals carcasses; he says, in his life he never saw anything thinner than they were at that time; and that 3 weeks after as fat, sleek, & greasy as can be imagined, or the human frame admit, with any exercise at all.

When the frost sett in, and the snow had fallen a good Depth, the Indians made themselves a snow house for the winter. Very strange indeed! a house made of snow! Yes veritably made of Snow, without either stone or wood—this house then the indians call aneo-Iggilo, which literally is snow house. They always make them proportional to the number of the Family that is to inhabit them, as there is never (in the winter) want of materials to build of. Their shape in the inside is half a sphere as near as they can make them; this is executed by cutting a gap down (where the snow is pretty deep) and as soon as that is low enough they form a hole exactly two feet square for the house door, in at which they cutt away with adzes and axes till they shape the inside of the house; the floor of which is on a level with this hole; and half of the floor opposite to this hole is two feet above the rest, and is for sitting or sleeping on. From this hole, or door, a porch is built of pieces of hardened snow, sawn out with a saw in long squareunks and set up on their ends each leaning against its opposite at the top: over all this they throw loose snow, and then water which in a minute or two cements it as firm as a rock. This porch is man high in the middle and about 12 or 14 feet long; at the top of the inw^d end is the door of the house, into which you ascend by two or three steps which it leans over in such a manner that you need not stoop, but walk upright into the house. Right over the door is the window 2 feet long & 3 broad made of a piece of transparent ice cut thin for the purpose, and cemented in with snow and water. There is not much occassion for this window, the top of the house being so thin that of itself would admit a considerable quantity of light; but this window fronts the north and admits a great quantity of

agreeable light; so that perhaps there never was a palace so well supply'd with that article. When they shut the door (as we say) they lay a piece of ice upon it, which is kept inside for that purpose. The warmth of these houses is surprizing for a person soon after entering will be obliged to throw of some of his winter cloaths that he may not be too much incomodod by the heat; tho' they never have a spark of fire in them except 2 lamps which I believe without any good reason burn both day and night; except indeed it be to give the inside a lustre; this they effectually do and make every little particle of ice appear like a diamond—Convenient to the porch is y^e cook house: this is in form exactly like a quart bottle, the neck serving for a chimney: the door is just wide enough for a person to squeeze in on hands and knees: they never use a spark more fire than is barely necessary to dress their meat. These people (At-tooiack's family) borrow'd severall things of Capt Cartwright which they carry'd of to the N^oward with them—

There pass'd 14 Eskimaux shallops by Cape Charles most of which came into the harbour, and when they return'd they had increas'd their number to 17 by pillage, for they had nothing to truck for them but their wives, and few people want them; if any body does, they may have one for a shallop. Capt. Cartwright was alone with the indians severall days at different times, & us'd to sleep on their skins as they did, eat poigee &c &c

Some Eskimau words¹

Ekingootigae	All Friends	OOnack	Fish dart
Cokioot	Musket	Poigee	Sealfish
Shavick	Knife	Manick	Eggs

It must be observ'd they sound the *a* very broad and frequently lay great emphasis on it; but the *ck* with which their language is prodigiously pester'd they sound as harsh and strong as possible

According to the accounts of every person who has winterd on this coast, from the tops of the Hills which in summer commands a prospect 10 or 15 leagues upon the western ocean, showing the gentle swelling waves rising from the smooth horizon to where the rocky shore beneath receives their foaming rage, in winter changes to a level sheet of ice covered deep with snow, compactly froze to all the shore and reaches farther on the ocean than the sight. I have not heard that the thermometer at Chatteau ever was lower 67° beneath the freezing point;

¹About ninety words are included in the journal of which only a few are here printed.

at London in the hard frost of 1740 I think it did not go lower than 11° tho' very near in the same Latt^d with Chatteau. There are many islands or rather Lumps of ice floating along this coast in the summer & some of almost incredible magnitude: I have seen them myself more than 250 feet above the surface, and have observ'd many of them ground in 50 fm water. They are of various irregular shapes, some having a variety of pinnacles or spires at the top, others roundish like hills, other like houses &c &c. When there are many of them near the shore in a calm night with a little swell, their breaking keeps up a continual noise which is echoed back from the woods and hills with as much grandour as the roll of thunder, and has much the same awfull effect. In passing to the southward of one of these islands of ice at the distance of 800 [300?] yards, steering west, I observd the compass change the north point to the N.W. and point directly at the ice, which it continued till we had pass'd it so far as to bring it N.E. when the compass swung round to its former position: but this is the only instance I ever saw of their attracting the magnet. I think it is probable many of these bodys are form'd by the immense snows that are whirled into the great cliffs and precipices contiguous to the sea, where it is hardened by the wet that the sea winds bring with them, and falls off in the spring when the outward part of the foundation is shaken by the sea, and the part which stuck to the land is loosen'd by the generall thaw.

I have often seen moss, pieces of rock, bushes, and sometimes small trees sticking in them.

Frontice peice

A Portrait of himself by himself

From his Midshipmans Journalls

His Majesties Ship Brune 1762

Geo Anthy Tonym Esq Commander

His Majestys Ship Lark 1764

Sam^l Thomson Esq Commander.

The Thunderers long boat going down

Lost at Spithead 2d Feby 1765 whereby 38 people were drown'd.

The Lark Saluting the Guernsey with Governor Palliser on Board, on his entring Crogue Harbour Newfoundland. 25 July 1765.

His drawings for amusement

A view of the town & harbour of St Johns Newfoundland in the possession of Hugh Palliser Esq Comptroller of the Navy, late Governor of Newfoundland.

An Eskimau Family

In the possession of the Hon^{ble} John Byron late Governor of Newfoundland.

The Eskimaux manner of striking a whale in their canoes

In the possession of The Right Hon^{ble} Lord Mansfield.

He did many Sea view pieces which he bestowed as inclination directed as soon as done.

SOME FURTHER MATERIAL ON PETER POND

Since the publication of my *Peter Pond, fur trader and adventurer* (Toronto, 1930), additional material has been made available from a variety of sources which warrants brief discussion. Mrs. LeGrand Cannon of New Haven, Connecticut, a descendant of Peter Pond, has confirmed minor points and has been good enough to arrange for photostats to be made of the journal in the possession of Mr. LeGrand Cannon, Jr. These are now in the possession of the University of Toronto library. Pond's Beaver club medal in the possession of Mr. Winthrop Pond of New Rochelle, New York, carries "Peter Pond Fortitude in distress 1769" on one side and "Beaver Club instituted Montreal, Industry and Perseverance 1785" on the other. The Beaver club minutes, on the other hand, state that he went west in 1770. It is probable that he first wintered at, or west of, Mackinac in 1769-70.

As to his later activities there is much evidence to suggest that he stayed in the country on his first trip in 1778 two years and not one, and that he came out in 1780 and wintered at Mackinac in 1780-1.¹ He went in from Grand Portage to winter with Waden in 1781-2.

The scepticism expressed by various reviews of my book, including that by Professor A. S. Morton in the REVIEW of June, 1932, as to Pond's probable innocence in the murders of John Ross in 1787 and Etienne Waden in 1782, warrants a brief review of the evidence, particularly as additional material has come to light since the publication of the volume.

In reply to the question "whether upon the examination before the committee of François Nadeau for the murder of John Ross, the committee of Privy Council does think the said François to be vehemently suspected of the said murder?", Mr. Grant

¹See CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, December, 1928, 33.

replied for the affirmative and Mr. Baby, Mr. de St. Ours, Judge Mabane, Judge Dunn, and Mr. Finlay for the negative. The same question, substituting the name Eustache le Compte, brought a reply in the negative from all the members.² Having cleared the names of these men we may turn to that of Peche, a name suggested by J. J. Bigsby in his narrative on Peter Pond.³ According to Bigsby, Pond "persuaded his men to rob Mr. Ross of a load of furs in open day. In the course of the altercation Mr. Ross was shot, really by accident, from a gun in the hand of a *voyageur* named Peche." The publication of the *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, edited by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1934) throws light on this and other problems. Peter Fidler in his journal of 1791 writes: "Mr. Ross was shot by one Peshe a Canadian by orders of Pond" (p. 394 n.) and again Peche was apparently in charge of the North West Company post at the mouth of the Slave River as "The Canadian master . . . absconded with the Chepewyans and remained with them 3 winters and 3 summers, before he could venture back . . . frightened of the gallows". In 1800 at Fort Chipewyan James McKenzie wrote of Peche as "a little crack brained and as variable as the wind" (p. 417 n.). It would appear that Professor Morton's interpretation of Roderick Mackenzie's statements to the effect that "Pond so far from restraining his men, had encouraged them to go to extremes in case of a clash with the men of the rival fort, but there again they [the statements] may mean much more" should be modified at least by omission of the part beginning "but there. . ." It is obvious that we cannot accuse Pond of the murder of Ross.

The case against him in the charge of the murder of Waden is based on the affidavit of Joseph Fagniant. Mr. F. J. Audet has sent a copy of the sworn statement which has been collated since the copy in *Peter Pond, fur trader and adventurer* (pp. 94-6) was made. Minor changes now make possible the more adequate translation given below.⁴ The petition of Josette Waden, dated May 29, 1783, was based on the affidavit: "That from the affidavit here annexed your petitioner hath a great cause to believe that the said murder was committed by one Peter Pond and one Toussaint le Sieur the deceased's [Waden's] clerk."

²Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 26-1, pp. 276-310.

³J. J. Bigsby, *The shoe and canoe* (London, 1850), I, 117.

⁴In making this translation I have had the assistance of Miss Doris Shiell of the University of Toronto library. The original is in the Public Archives of Canada, *Series B* (Haldimand), vol. 219, p. 113.

The examination and report of Joseph Fagniant of Berthier, voyageur to the upper country, who having sworn on the bible, declared that having wintered in the upper country at the Lake de la Rivière aux Rapides in the English River, he was, in the month of March 1782 in a small post with Peter Pond and Jean Etienne Waden traders. On a day early in March about 9 o'clock in the evening he retired to his house, which was at the side and touched the house of Sieur Waden, which he had just left, and after taking off his shoes or about ten minutes after his return, having left Waden on his bed, he heard two gun shots, one after the other, suddenly, in Waden's house on which he sent a man to see what it was. The man went and returned saying that Mons. Waden was on the ground having received a gun shot, at which he got up and ran immediately to Waden and found him on the ground beside his bed on which he had left him a short time before, with his left leg shattered from the knee down. On approaching Waden the latter said to him *Ah mon amis je suis mort*, at which he attempted to tear his trousers [dechirer ses culots à metasses] to examine the leg and found the mark of powder on his knee and holes where two balls had entered and the leg shattered below the knee where the two balls had left from behind, having found them [the balls] on the spot. Sieur Waden asked him to find the Turlington Balsam and stop the blood. Having asked him who had done this to him he replied I will tell you but having lost very much blood by that time he was not able to say more. On entering Waden's house on this occasion, he saw Peter Pond and Toussaint Sieur leaving it and entering their own. He found an empty gun and another broken in the house and saw that the one which was empty had been recently fired but that the other had been carried away [mais que l'autre étoit emporté]. On entering Waden's house after the shots he saw Peter Pond and Toussaint Sieur at the door. Sieur asked Waden if it was he Sieur who had killed him. Waden replied *Go away both of you that I may not see you*. Thereupon two men led Toussaint Sieur to bed and Peter Pond entered his own house. About a month before Peter Pond and Waden had fought and again on the same evening that Waden was killed. About an hour before supper Peter Pond quarrelled and argued with Waden. That he has good reason to believe that it was Peter Pond and Toussaint Sieur or one of them who killed Sieur Waden and for the present has nothing more to say.

Such is the evidence. Sieur's question and Waden's answer lead one to suggest that a scuffle had occurred and that Sieur had been implicated in the fatal shots.

The volume edited by Dr. Tyrrell makes his activities more definite on other minor points. In 1775, contrary to Alexander Henry's account, Pond did not go to Cumberland House before proceeding south to Lake Dauphin. He passed Cumberland House on October 7, 1777, on his way up the Saskatchewan in that year, and he arrived with five canoes on May 26, 1778, at Cumber-

land House on his way to Athabasca. Fresh evidence of a generous disposition is available in the following citation from the Cumberland House journal of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated May 26, 1778:

[Pond] brought Isaac Batt with two bundles of furs from the Upper Settlement, he not having a canoe to come down in. I could not but in civility ask him to come in for his kindness, I also returned him thanks for the supply of provisions he gave to William Walker when he arrived at the Upper Settlement, which Wm. Walker informs me was of great service to him, there being no Indians there to trade provisions with (p. 55).

A final item of interest, touching Pond's activities as an explorer rather than as a trader, has been made available through the discovery by Miss Grace Lee Nute in one of the copies of the *Gentleman's magazine* for March, 1790, of a map accompanying the well-known letter in that issue. The map⁵ brings out clearly the general belief in a river from Slave Lake to Cook's Inlet and supports the letter written at Quebec on November 7, 1784, by Isaac Ogden to David Ogden in London and forwarded on January 23, 1798, to Evan Nepean. It is possible that the map was drawn in London and based on the contents of the letter but it is quite probably a copy of the map referred to by Ogden as in Pond's possession. It should be consulted with the copy of Pond's map made by Ezra Stiles, president of Yale University, and at present in the possession of the library of Yale.⁶ This map shows no outlet either by the Mackenzie or by Cook's Inlet. It is difficult to believe that Pond had learned of Mackenzie's failure in 1789 by March, 1790. The latter returned from the mouth of the Mackenzie to Chipewyan on September 12 and there is no evidence of a winter express which would enable the news to reach Montreal by March, 1790. Prospects of success would certainly have deterred Pond's departure from Montreal. That he left Montreal by that date and that the Stiles map shows no reference to Cook's Inlet would seem to indicate that by March, 1790, he had lost faith in the possibilities of the route. The map published for the first time in that month is definite evidence that he believed in the route in early November of the preceding year, and that the map submitted to Stiles had been redrawn to conform to his doubts.

H. A. INNIS

⁵Reproduced in *Minnesota history*, March, 1933, 81-4.

⁶Reprinted in G. C. Davidson's *The North West Company* (Berkeley, Cal., 1919), 42.

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE IMPERIAL PROBLEM IN THE MINDS OF CHAMBERLAIN AND HIS SUCCESSORS¹

WHEN grown-up sons leave the old homestead to take up land of their own, the problems of the old homestead still remain the chief pre-occupation of those who stay behind. They may be interested in the fortunes of the young folks; they may find time for counsel and admonition; they may look for help in paying off the mortgage—especially if the mortgage is continually growing in the face of a dwindling income. But their thought and their effort are chiefly occupied with the task of keeping the homestead going, and broader family interests are distinctly secondary to this necessity.

That is the situation in the British Commonwealth. It does not necessarily argue any lack of mutual affection. It need not mean a reluctance to extend mutual help at a time of crisis. But it does mean, inevitably, that the problems of the mother country are the first concern of her statesmen; that the relations between England and the dominions are considered chiefly in the light of those problems; and that any consideration of the position and the mutual relations of the commonwealth as a whole is decidedly subordinate to the immediate and pressing task of maintaining and advancing interests which are purely English. If one would see these matters in their true perspective, a consideration of the chief biographies and memoirs which have appeared during the past year may indicate the comparative place occupied by imperial problems in the minds of English statesmen.

The latest volume of Mr. Garvin's excellent *Life of Chamberlain* covers a critical and exciting period. The five years from 1895 to 1900 saw Germany and England groping toward an alliance, and England and France led to the verge of war; they saw the Jameson raid with its international repercussions, and the early disasters of the Boer War to which the raid was a prelude. These were events which were to launch Great Britain on a new course in world politics. At their centre was Chamberlain, an energetic and disturbing figure. Although his proper field was colonial policy, it was impossible to separate imperial developments from foreign affairs on which they had so profound an effect. Thus Chamberlain was presented with an opportunity to shape England's whole problem of world relationships—a task from which he was the last man to shrink.

¹*The Life of Joseph Chamberlain.* By J. L. GARVIN. Volume three: 1895-1900. *Empire and World Policy.* London: Macmillan and Co. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. ix, 632. (\$6.00)

War Memoirs. By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE. Volumes I-IV. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1934. Pp. 2439. (\$6.00)

Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919-1925: A Study in Post-war Diplomacy. By HAROLD NICOLSON. London: Constable and Co. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. xvi, 416. (\$5.50)

An Autobiography. By Viscount SNOWDEN. Volumes I-II. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1934. Pp. 1094.

In the plan which he evolved, the idea of a new relation between the dominions and the mother country was only one factor. But it was an idea which could be realized independent of the success or failure of his full scheme, and which in some respects might even prove an alternative if the scheme did fail after all. It was never realized, but it did plant an ideal more enduring than that which guided his efforts at foreign policy, and one which retains a real vitality even to-day.

The basis of that ideal he defined in practical terms. "I regard many of our Colonies", he told the house of commons in 1895, "as undeveloped estates which can never be developed without Imperial assistance." And to a deputation on West African railways he added: "If the people of this country are not willing to invest some of their superfluous wealth in the development of their great estate, then I see no future for these countries, and it would have been better never to have gone there."

Although these words were used of undeveloped possessions, the attitude of Chamberlain toward the self-governing colonies was based on similar considerations. The question of trade bulked large in his mind. His idea was a mutually protected market which would secure "as large a share as possible of the mutual trade of the United Kingdom and the Colonies for British producers and manufacturers, whether located in the Colonies or in the United Kingdom". But this was only an approach to still wider objects. As trade was "the greatest of our common interests", so imperial defence was "the greatest of our common obligations". To crown this mutual union for trade and defence, there was to be a political federation which "will not only provide for its own security, but will be a potent factor in maintaining the peace of the world".

Unfortunately for Chamberlain, the colonies failed to share his enthusiasm. The attitude of Canada especially, as the only federated dominion, was of vital importance, and Canada gave only a lukewarm encouragement. In matters of trade the Laurier government did, indeed, make the gesture of imperial preference; but the protective system was continued, and the idea of a trade agreement with the United States was still hopefully entertained. An interview with Cartwright in September, 1896, in which Chamberlain turned on all his persuasiveness, failed to achieve any advance. Even the colonial conference of 1897, in spite of Laurier's brief enthusiasm for colonial representation in parliament, brought no nearer the realization of Chamberlain's cherished project. He concluded that the colonial representatives were "Premiers first and patriots second", and that the only practical policy was "to continue to impress our wishes and hopes for union and to leave the heaven to work".

But that did not mean abandonment. Indeed, the developments during the next three years gave him renewed hope. The Boer War and the participation of the colonies was an object lesson in co-operation for imperial defence. The achievement of Australian federation seemed one step toward a closer union. There was still, Chamberlain recognized, no chance that his full programme could immediately be realized. But the ultimate hope remained; and it was with the idea of taking the most feasible road toward this goal that he was soon to embark on his campaign for tariff reform.

"I am told on every hand", said Chamberlain in 1895, "that Imperial federation is a vain and empty dream. . . . Dreams of that kind which have so powerful an influence upon the imaginations of men, have somehow or other an unaccountable way of being realized in their own time." He was too optimistic. A generation has passed, and the dream is still a dream. And in the interval, not only has no leader revived the full programme which Chamberlain advocated, but even the individual elements in that programme have met with little understanding on the part of the statesmen concerned with their advancement.

One of the landmarks in the development of the British Commonwealth was the creation of the imperial war cabinet in 1917. Out of the common effort of the war grew a new conception of the future of the commonwealth and the relation of its component parts which was symbolized by the admission of dominion representatives to the inner council of the empire. But though this was a step of the first importance, it was not in itself a permanent contribution to the machinery of government. Its fourteen sessions were concerned with broad general principles; it could take effective decisions on these, but it was impossible for it to have either the permanence or the continuity of a cabinet in the strict sense of the term.

Its creation, however, as well as the special circumstances under which it met, helped to raise the question of the future of imperial relations. The solution of this question was the task of the imperial war conference. Its answer was the Constitutional Resolution of 1917, envisaging a new imperial relationship based on a full recognition of dominion autonomy and on close co-operation in matters of common concern. It was the beginning of the effective change from empire to commonwealth.

Mr. Lloyd George was chiefly responsible for the calling of the conference which initiated this new development. His account is to be found in the fourth volume of his *War memoirs*. But while the conference was of paramount importance from the point of view of imperial evolution, it was a distinctly minor episode to the statesman who guided England through the greatest crisis of modern times.

His *Memoirs* place the matter in its true perspective. Out of a total of 2,439 pages, 74 are devoted to the imperial war cabinet and the conference which accompanied it. There is no doubt that this is a just proportion. The intense pressure of the war on the economic and political organization of Great Britain—the struggle to raise men and munitions, to deal with the submarine menace, to reconcile the labour problem with the expansion of war industry and the simultaneous demands of the army—these were problems sufficient to absorb the whole energy of the government. Outside the chapter on the war cabinet there are hardly half a dozen references to the imperial aspect of the war.

Moreover, it is quite clear that Lloyd George approached the conference from the point of view of England's specific problems, not those of the empire as a corporate body. He pays full tribute to the aid rendered by the dominions. "Had it not been for the readiness with which Dominion and Dependency sprang to our aid in the lean years

of 1914-1915", he writes, "the Allies would have been hard put to it to pull through before Italy came in, and at a time when the forces at the disposal of the Central Powers were at their best." But it is clear that he views them as subsidiary allies, not as equal partners in a common cause. His desire is to secure aid for Britain in her extremity, not to initiate a new evolution. He shows little realization of the importance of the Constitutional Resolution from the imperial point of view. His concern with imperial defence is only with reference to the existing emergency, not to any permanent relationship. His ideas on empire trade are dominated by the lessons of the submarine blockade. All the elements of the Chamberlain policy had a direct bearing on the problem which existed in 1917. But Lloyd George, although he admired Chamberlain as a social reformer, had been his bitterest opponent in imperial matters. There is no sign that the war brought any radical change in his views.

Implicit in the problem of imperial defence, and scarcely less in the problem of imperial federation, is the question of foreign policy. How to reconcile the common responsibility of the whole commonwealth with the paramount control of policy by the British cabinet, or the world-wide interests of Britain with the far narrower interests of the individual dominions, is a problem which has so far proved incapable of satisfactory solution.

The conference of 1917, however, did seek to point the way. The Constitutional Resolution called for "effective arrangements for continual consultation in all matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine". This was to apply, of course, to a much wider field than foreign policy; but in that field, above all, it was necessary that the principle should be applied if the greatest danger to imperial harmony was to be averted.

The difficulty, if not the impossibility, of such application was shown during Lord Curzon's tenure of the foreign office. Curzon was an ardent imperialist in the Tory tradition. But that tradition, reinforced by Curzon's own experience and profound knowledge, had little to do with the modern conception of the commonwealth. Its eyes were turned to the east—to India as the brightest jewel in the crown, and to Asia generally as the sphere in which the empire would stand or fall. It is not surprising that, when a crisis arose, the principles of the Constitutional Resolution should be completely ignored.

There were, in fact, two occasions on which the new principles were at stake. The first was in September, 1922, when the advance of the Turkish nationalists reached the straits and confronted the small British force at Chanak. For a few days peace hung in the balance; and the dominions suddenly found themselves confronted with the question of whether they were prepared to support Britain in a struggle for objects of which they were ignorant and for interests which they did not share. Their replies, asking for further information, showed clearly that the idea of co-operation based on consultation had, for the moment at least, completely broken down.

The second occasion came six weeks later, when a conference met at Lausanne to conclude peace between the Allies and Turkey. At this conference no arrangement was made for direct representation of the dominions, though full information on the proceedings was promised by the British government. This led to the assertion by Canada that the government held itself free to judge how far the dominion would be bound by any treaty resulting from the conference—a principle which the British government accepted, and which resulted in the withholding of Canadian ratification from the Treaty of Lausanne.

It is clear from Mr. Nicolson's brilliant and sympathetic biography that on neither occasion did the attitude of the dominions have the slightest effect on Curzon's policy. It is not even certain that he was particularly conscious of this attitude. There is, indeed, a reference to his despatch of telegrams to the dominions on the occasion of the Chanak crisis; but of the imperial implications of this incident, or even of the replies from the dominions, no hint emerges. And on the Lausanne conference the silence is absolute. The grave divisions on a major matter of foreign policy, and the anomalous position which resulted, are not even referred to. It is clear that, for Curzon at least, the constitutional development of the commonwealth had no bearing on the conduct of foreign policy.

No two men could be more diverse in every respect than Lord Curzon and Viscount Snowden. Equally patriotic, their views on the empire, as on almost every other subject, were poles apart. In many ways the background and outlook of Snowden are similar to those of Lloyd George; but Snowden's Little Englandism is of purer water, untrammelled by the war-time developments by which Lloyd George was affected. Its completeness is shown in the account in his *Autobiography* of a tour across America to the Antipodes in 1914. New Zealand he found "the only part of the British Empire we visited where the attachment to the Mother Country was universally strong". Australia, at which he touched, he passes over in tactful silence. His trip through Canada is that of an interested visitor to a foreign country. He is impressed by Niagara Falls and the sunsets on the Great Lakes; he marvels at the political corruption of the "State of Manitoba"; he expresses himself in no uncertain terms on the spectacle of the Calgary oil boom. But he is a stranger taking a holiday abroad, and no platitudes on imperial destiny and imperial unity ever enter his mind.

It is not to be expected that a man of this type should devote his attention to imperial affairs unless they were forced upon his notice. It is only in connection with such occasions that any reference to the empire appears in his pages. But it so happened that he was chancellor of the exchequer when the advocates of closer union once more approached the problem by the path of trade relations. As the watchdog of British finance when the matter was raised at the conference of 1930, Snowden was forced to combat and expose what he felt to be a selfish effort on the part of the dominions at the expense of the mother country. His outspoken respects are paid especially to Mr. Bennett. Recognizing him as the outstanding figure of the conference, he directs a forthright con-

demnation at his efforts to tempt Britain from the path of free trade by an offer which, Snowden agrees with Mr. Thomas, was sheer "humbug". "Mr. Bennett", he writes, "did not impress me as having much imperial sentiment. To him these imperial problems were simply matters of business—an opportunity for seeing how much he could get out of others and how little he could give himself."

In the two years that passed before the attempt was renewed, the position changed. The national government came into office; Snowden went to the house of lords; the exchequer passed to Mr. Neville Chamberlain. It was natural that the latter should seek to advance a salient part of his father's policy. Lord Snowden contemplates the result with embittered satisfaction. The Ottawa pacts betrayed the fiscal principles for which he had hitherto fought, and brought about his resignation from the ministry. "I fully realise the difficulties of our delegation", he wrote to Sir Herbert Samuel, "but they have been outmanoeuvred at every point. . . . Bennett's hectoring and bullying have been too much for them." And in his letter of resignation he asserted:

The British Delegation went to Ottawa with the declared intention of increasing inter-Imperial trade and securing a general lowering of world tariffs . . . They have come back, after weeks of acrimonious disputes and sordid struggles with vested interests, with agreements wrenched from them to avert a collapse of the Conference and an exposure to the world of the hollowness of the talk of Imperial sentiment in economic affairs.

There are undoubtedly many in England, including some of the delegates themselves, who share Lord Snowden's view.

In that subtly mystical yet realistic document, the Balfour report of 1926, it is laid down that "principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to *status*, do not universally extend to function". The developments of the past ten years have given concrete substance to this general statement. It is, of course, inevitable that, in any country, domestic affairs should command first consideration. It is equally inevitable that imperial developments, to a country of such diverse interests and problems as Great Britain, should occupy far less prominence than they do in the dominions whose national position still hinges on the development of the commonwealth as an organism. A realization of this may help the dominions themselves to see matters in their true perspective. The volumes under review are a real aid to this process.

EDGAR MCINNIS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation. By WILLIAM MENZIES WHITELAW. With a foreword by the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 328. (\$3.50)

THIS book has long been awaited by those who have known the quality of research that has been going into it for many years. The preface is almost a parable. The author's original project (p. 6) was "an intimate story of the Quebec Conference" of 1864. This was found to involve an examination of the "understandings" at the Charlottetown Conference; and this, in turn, of the movement for Maritime union, "a field even less explored than that of the conferences themselves". But the connection between Maritime union and British American federation was found to be "no accidental coincidence of 1864". The forces in conflict—"rugged particularism" and "incipient nationalism"—were traceable almost from the beginning. The plan thus threatened to include the whole history of British America prior to Confederation and to "assume alarming proportions". The central theme came finally to be the "influence of Canadian expansion on integration within the maritime provinces". With so many uncharted fields in all directions Mr. Whitelaw's experience may fairly be taken as a parable of sound scholarship in Canadian history for many years to come.

The story of British American union illustrates how easy it is to separate colonies in their pliant infancy and how hard it is to reunite them when they have grown to "rugged particularism". By 1784 the old Province of Nova Scotia had been broken into four fragments, so easily and so plausibly that the prime motives have remained obscure to this day. Quebec, too, was broken into Upper and Lower Canada under policies equally specious and illusory. In 1841 the Canadas were reunited by methods that seemed at once necessary and indefensible. During the fifties the Maritimes, too, aspired, by less heroic means, to repair the ravages of 1784. But by 1864 two opposite tendencies were discernible. The Maritimes, with customary orthodoxy, found themselves exploring a legislative union at the very moment when Canadians, for a variety of local reasons, found their own intolerable. For the first time in a decade Canadian parties had reached substantial agreement—a coalition on the basis of a written bond at all costs to break the union. There was to be a general federation if possible, a dual federation of the Canadas if necessary. Thus while the Maritimes were seeking a legislative union, the Canadas were intent upon destroying the only one which already existed.

It was this rip-tide which wrought havoc with more than one promising feature of British American union. Could the movement for a Maritime legislative union have succeeded? Would it have been an antidote or a preliminary (as practically all the Maritime "fathers of Confederation" had sought to make it) to a broader federation? What

would have been the result for the Maritimes had they entered the Canadian federation as a single province? Could there have been an approach to equipoise among the provinces of Canada had it been possible like Wordsworth's "little cottage girl" to say "we are seven" instead of nine? Mr. Whitelaw does not try to answer these questions categorically but he illustrates with convincing thoroughness certain tendencies against which parliamentary unions of all sorts and in all ages have had to contend. Against this background, and in the light of the desperate "means" by which both the Canadian union of 1841 and the final federation of 1867 had to be carried, the chances of Maritime union "just happening" in 1864 seem remote indeed. Perhaps it would be fair to say that Mr. Whitelaw acquiesces, upon the whole, both in the original disintegration of Nova Scotia and in the subsequent separatism of the Maritimes as the best that could be expected in 1864 and 1867.

In tracing the "early particularism" of the Maritimes Mr. Whitelaw attributes even the original dismemberment of Nova Scotia to "the dominance of local conditions", while the isolation from Canada is almost complete. For ten years after the War of 1812 not a single ship from the Maritimes is registered at the Montreal customs. In the thirties an intercolonial steamship line survived scarcely two years. The "particularism" of Cape Breton survived for nearly a generation after the re-union with Nova Scotia in 1820. In truth, the evidence which is here used to explain, if not justify, the chronic separatism of the Maritimes might bear another interpretation. It leaves an impression not only of "particularism" but of parochialism: of particularism run to seed, too inert to defend or even to discern their own interests in the presence of the expansive forces then abroad in Canada and the United States during the Civil War. The Maritimes ought to be "thoroughly amalgamated" among themselves, wrote Mulgrave from Halifax in 1860, in order to unite with Canada "on something like equal terms". It is curious that what Head and Newcastle and Elliott and half a dozen others saw so clearly and so objectively should have escaped so many of the Maritime leaders until it was too late. This was sometime a paradox but the piecemeal disintegration of Maritime interests since 1867 surely gives it proof.

The evidence with regard to Maritime union is traced meticulously from official sources including invaluable annotations upon the despatches at the colonial office. It is easy to demonstrate the futility of such movements without some coercive force or set of forces to drive them through to completion. Parliamentary unions never "just happen". Federation for Canada was another story. He must needs go that the devil drives. But the contrast between advocacy and achievement during these ten years in the Maritimes is truly remarkable. Few causes in Canadian history have ever had a wider range of advocates. At the colonial office Labouchere and Merivale and Fortescue and Blackwood and Elliott and Newcastle himself (perhaps the most discerning of all) gave it their support.

I have always been of opinion [reads a conclusive minute by Newcastle] that the necessary preliminary to a Legislative Union of the Lower Provinces is an Intercolonial Railway, and that the completion of *both* these schemes must precede a Union with Canada. The latter event may be hastened by the present condition

of the neighbouring Country, but I do not expect success to any project which attempts it without first *selling* (if not *accomplishing*) both the smaller Union and the Railway. . . . I am well inclined to enter heartily into any well-considered plan which has the concurrence of all Parties concerned.

Events (largely, as Newcastle feared, from the United States) reversed this order with a vengeance. Federation with Canada was to come first, the railway several years afterwards, and Maritime union not at all. Even when the Canadian delegates were *en route* to Charlottetown, instructions were received from Cardwell, the new colonial secretary, to confine "the official Mission of the Delegates . . . to the Union of the Lower Provinces".

Among the governors, Sir Edmund Head, Manners Sutton, Mulgrave, Gordon, and MacDonnell all advocated Maritime union; and at one time or another almost every prominent figure in Maritime politics gave it support—Howe and Tupper, George Young, Dickey and Archibald, McCully and Tilley and Fisher, and many others. Tupper once foreshadowed a resolution in Nova Scotia "without a single dissentient vote". Yet when he finally moved, at Charlottetown, that "the time has arrived when such Union should be effected", the mountain brought forth—a mouse. Even Gordon had gone off fishing and reached Charlottetown barely in time to find the conference engaged in a losing competition with a local circus. Perhaps this is overstating the impression which Mr. Whitelaw intends to convey. Assuredly there were vital and constructive forces here which receive less than adequate treatment. Upon the surface, the movement from Canada which swept the Maritimes piecemeal into the larger federation has all the appearance of a veritable whirlwind. Unfortunately Mr. Whitelaw's theme closes before it becomes necessary to examine the other expedients, both from Canada and from London, by which federation had eventually to be carried in the Maritimes.

If it is a reviewer's duty, in a book of such admirable technique and scholarship, to make some attempt at basic criticism, one may enter at least this *caveat*. While the general futility of the movement for Maritime union may be conceded, is there not room for doubt both with regard to the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*? Is it historically true that the dismemberment of the original province was due to "local conditions"? The separation of Prince Edward Island is so directly traceable to the absentee proprietors, and that of New Brunswick¹ and Cape Breton to British colonial policy, that some at least of the perverted separatism of later years may fairly be charged to original sin. I venture still to think that "the dismemberment of the old province was too prompt and systematic to be the result of local preferences".² Then, too, the *terminus ad quem* is not altogether convincing. After all, federation itself was scarcely carried in the Maritimes by orderly advocacy, traceable step by step in official despatches. The range of "means", legitimate and otherwise, brought to bear from outside those provinces after the anti-confederate elections of 1865 in New Brunswick effected the most violent reversal of policy since the Quebec Act. Had half these "means"

¹See Miss Gilroy's article on "The partition of Nova Scotia" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, December, 1933, 375-91).

²Cambridge history of the British Empire (Cambridge, 1930), VI, 272.

been directed towards Maritime union there might have been another story; and, indeed, there were other forces at work in the same direction.

In foreign trade the Maritimes were remarkably free from competitive interests. The trade of Nova Scotia was chiefly with the West Indies, that of Prince Edward Island with the United States, and that of New Brunswick with Great Britain. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 had been bought and paid for by the inshore fisheries of the Maritimes, and almost the only agreement on record between Howe and Johnston was their joint resolution of protest against "the right of Lord Elgin to concoct, or of the Imperial Government to ratify" terms so "arbitrarily removed from their control". Maritime trade nevertheless doubled under the treaty, and Howe became its doughtiest champion; but while the game was up with Canada at the abrogation of the treaty by the United States, a Maritime union with the inshore fisheries at their disposal might have had a fair chance of renewal. Two representatives from congress visited Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia with that in view, and the relations of the Maritimes with the United States during the Civil War, unlike those of Canada, remained remarkably friendly. There were those who saw very clearly even during the sixties what it might mean to surrender the low tariffs of the Maritimes for protective federal tariffs on the Canadian scale. The recent report of the latest commission is an interesting commentary upon this foresight.

Then the antipathies that attended the intercolonial railway fiasco of 1862 were of longer standing than the "bitter feeling . . . against the Canadian government for its duplicity" after the Howland-Sicotte mission to London. For Mr. Whitelaw's theme it was deemed "fortunately unnecessary to detail the breakdown of these negotiations . . . and the subsequent repudiation by the Canadian government of its agreement"; but the asperities on this issue threatened at one time to embitter even the relations between Macdonald and Tilley on the very eve of Confederation. Then, too, if defence, as Mr. Whitelaw concedes, was the dominant motive of Cardwell in forcing federation upon the Maritimes, how was the prospect of helping to defend Canada likely to appeal more strongly than Maritime union to a peninsula defensible by British sea power? In any event self-interest alone must have suggested the local union. Manners Sutton may have favoured Maritime union as an escape from Canadian federation; but is it not equally true that Mulgrave and Head and Tupper and many others favoured it more discerningly as a necessary prelude to federation "on something like equal terms"?

These and many other problems raised by this admirable study may be expected to add spice and interest to this period of Canadian history for many years to come. A book which embodies so many years of scholarly research is likely to last a long time. Any critic who disputes the field must look to his weapons. A score of passages could be cited at random to illustrate the effectiveness of Mr. Whitelaw's scholarly research. There is more convincing evidence about P. J. Hamilton's part in federation packed into two pages and a footnote (p. 111) than could be gleaned from a dozen pot-boilers. Flashes of real insight into the motives of Cartier and Macdonald are worth whole monographs of

panegyric in years of jubilee. There are four useful maps—one of them in the endpapers—in which clearness is not sacrificed to unnecessary detail. There is a brief but discerning foreword by Sir Robert Borden. Index and bibliography are models of sound scholarship. It is safe to say that this book will be like Falstaff's wit: not only the proof of wit within himself "but the cause that wit is in other men".

CHESTER MARTIN

Report of the Royal Commission, Provincial Economic Inquiry. Halifax. King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 238.

Report of the Royal Commission, Provincial Economic Inquiry, Appendices. Halifax. King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 133.

A Submission on Dominion-Provincial Relations and the Fiscal Disabilities of Nova Scotia within the Canadian Federation. Presented by NORMAN MCL. ROGERS. (Royal Commission Economic Inquiry.) Halifax: [King's Printer, 1934.] Pp. iv, 263.

THE provincial economic inquiry in Nova Scotia has provided us with a set of documents comparable in quality with the best Australian products of recent years. The *Report* of the commission itself is in two parts: first, the analysis and recommendations of the whole commission; and second, a complementary report by Professor Innis which approaches the problems from the historical point of view. The commission also called upon experts to prepare memoranda on special topics, and a number of these are printed as appendices. Finally, there is the brief prepared by Professor Rogers on behalf of the government of Nova Scotia. As might be expected from the membership of the commission—Professor J. H. Jones, Dr. A. S. Johnston, Professor H. A. Innis—the *Report* is of high quality. And the commission declared that the brief of Professor Rogers was "an outstanding contribution to the study of Confederation" (p. 97). This opinion will be widely endorsed.

The terms of reference of the inquiry were deliberately made as broad as possible. The commission was to investigate: (a) the effect of the fiscal and trade policies of the dominion upon the economic life of Nova Scotia; (b) the adequacy of the present financial arrangements between the dominion and Nova Scotia; (c) any other matter affecting the economic welfare of Nova Scotia. The commission did not shirk its responsibility, but the tariff occupies the centre of the stage throughout. It is the villain of the piece. Through its influence, so runs the argument, an unmitigated burden has been put upon the export industries of Nova Scotia; centralization of industry in Ontario and Quebec has been encouraged. In short, the high protectionist policy of Canada, coupled with the development of a national transportation system, has injured the economic life of Nova Scotia and has forced a lower standard of living upon its people. These conclusions are supported by a careful analysis both in the *Report* of the commission and in Professor Rogers's brief; and the latter gives also an ingenious statistical computation concerning the provincial incidence of the tariff.

A general acceptance, however, of the view that high protection has been inimical to Nova Scotia leaves certain other important questions

unsolved. The province has suffered also from technological and commercial changes which, in their origin and influence, are world-wide and not controllable by the dominion government. The commission recognized the existence of these factors; it admitted that to some extent Nova Scotia was "in the sphere of the inevitable" (p. 20). But while it depicts emphatically the part played by the tariff, that played by other influences is left to inference. Of course, the omission is understandable: in a report which was expected to suggest remedies, attention had to be given to ailments for which remedies or compensation might be provided. But the result is a certain distortion of emphasis which detracts from the value of the *Report* as an historical document.

Federal-provincial financial relations, the second major subject of investigation, is, in the opinion of the reviewer, handled with least insight by the commission and by Professor Rogers. The statement that "the fundamental weakness of the original financial arrangements between the Dominion and the Provinces lay in their assumption that the expenditures of the provinces would be determined in the main by growth of population rather than by the acceptance of new governmental responsibilities" (p. 69), cannot be accepted. Whatever was the "assumption" made in 1867, the provincial governments had adequate fiscal resources in the form of subsidies, territorial revenues, and the right to levy direct taxation, until after the war. Since then their resources have become inadequate. Why is this the case? Partly because of new demands made upon them, but more immediately because the dominion was forced by the war to enter the field of direct taxation—a field which the provinces had open to them and had not utilized.

There is, however, little doubt that at present a revision of dominion-provincial financial arrangements is advisable. The commission recommends action in three different directions. It advises federal assumption of certain social services, extension of federal grants-in-aid, and the grant of better terms. This last proposal is not easy to justify. Both the commission and Professor Rogers recognize the evils associated with unconditional subsidies in the past, but they hope to avoid them for the future by "a periodic review" based upon an "impartial study" (p. 77). Such a hope is illusory. The system of unconditional subsidies has been proved to be vicious both by the experience of Canada and of other countries.

Limitation of space precludes mention of many other important problems which were analysed and about which recommendations were made. Some of the recommendations can be implemented by the provincial government; others, e.g., transfer of control of the fisheries to the province, require negotiation with the dominion. Certainly the government of Nova Scotia can thank the commission for presenting it with a co-ordinated developmental programme; and Canadian students will thank the government for appointment of the commission.

J. A. MAXWELL

Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century: Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700 and Other Contemporary Documents. By JOHN CLARENCE WEBSTER. (Monographic series, no. 1.) Saint John, N.B.: The New Brunswick Museum. Printed by the Tribune Press, Sackville, N.B. 1934. Pp. xiv, 232. (\$5.00)

THE natural abiding place of errant manuscripts of Canadian interest is the Public Archives at Ottawa. Here they may be held in perpetual trust either for the Canadian people, or for any legitimate claimant. The day is possibly far distant when enlightened owners will as a matter of course transfer their treasures to Ottawa. In the meantime there is keen competition in the acquisition of historical material whether in the shape of manuscripts, pictures, books, or maps. Some ten years ago Dr. Webster, the eminent surgeon and collector, purchased and still retains a number of French documents of the seventeenth century, including letters, journals, and memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, the picturesque and resourceful commandant in Acadia from 1690 to 1700.

A perusal of these fugitive documents created a desire for a more ample knowledge of Acadian history and for six years intensive research was conducted in France, in England, in the Archives of Canada, and in the United States.

The result of Dr. Webster's investigation is given in the form of an admirable survey, limited at the moment to Villebon's activities. Acadian story, however, is full of "colour and incident" and the author would do well to continue a work so useful and indispensable. Turn, for example, to the first decade of the century when Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, obtained authority to colonize Acadia. Here we find the beginning of an epic story which moves onward for a century and a half through countless complexities to the great tragedy to be. De Monts was a Calvinist; the foundation of his enterprise, a monopoly of the fur-trade between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude. But the Jesuits and their supporters in France saw in the New World something above commerce; they had visions of the cross triumphant in the wilderness, of a whole continent brought within the fold of the church. The promise of the king was, therefore, obtained that the children of the forest should be taught the rudiments of the Catholic religion. On the first voyage of this crusade those of the old faith mingled with those of the new, so that Catholic priest and Calvinist minister had frequent opportunities for debate within the narrow quarters of a ship's deck. As their discussions usually ended in fistic encounters, a discoloured eye or a nose somewhat awry might indicate the intensity of their zeal. "I have seen", says Champlain "our curé and the minister fall to with their fists on questions of faith. I cannot say which had the most pluck or which hit the harder. This was their way of settling points of controversy."

Mark's way, said Mark, and
clove him thro' the brain.

Amongst the ardent supporters of the Jesuits during the reign of Henri IV, was Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville, a lady

whose beauty had enslaved the monarch, but whose virtue he could not vanquish. She longed to serve the church and her opportunity came when de Monts transferred to her all his claims to Acadian lands. The territory granted to de Monts had been enormous; but Louis XIII was even more generous to "the lady of honour, indeed!" for he gave to her all the country from the River Saint Lawrence to Florida—a mission-field broad enough to satisfy the ambition of the Jesuits. But while the conversion of the savage was uppermost in the minds of those fired with religious zeal, the strategic importance of Acadia was not disregarded either by French merchants or New England settlers. Later, the agents of Cromwell "not finding their ships ready for an expedition against the Dutch conseqaued that to spend a lytle tyme upon ye coast in lookeinge after ye ffrench might torne to Some Accompt and be of Some use to ye English".¹ The "Some Accompt" was, no doubt, a little loot. What "use to ye English" these friendly visitations may have been, we know not. The heirs of the promoters, however, were enriched by large tracts of land which should have been the heritage of the Canadian people.

In a brief introduction the author traces the history of Acadia from the signing of the Treaty of Whitehall, in 1686, until the close of the century. Under the provisions of this instrument peace was to be maintained in America even if the two powers were at war in Europe. In 1687, when Louis Alexandre des Friches, Sieur de Meneval, succeeded Perrot as governor of Acadia, the king had already indicated the method by which the provisions of the treaty were to be carried out:

The principal intention of His Majesty in establishments of this kind consists particularly in the glory of God and in making known the truths of our holy religion to the nations of the said country. The said Sieur de Menneval must contribute with all his attention to promote the pious designs of his Majesty and in that respect dare to bring into execution what has been and will be decided by the Sieur de St Vallier, appointed to the bishopric of Quebec whom he will inform of all things coming to his knowledge, of which he must also give a report to His Majesty. . . . The Frigate *La Friponne* is to proceed to Acadian coasts and seize the vessels and goods of all English or other foreign traders or fishermen found in Acadian waters and confiscate their vessels and goods under orders from the Sieur de Meneval.

It is further set forth in the same document that

very little opportunity is to be given to the English to incoach upon Acadian country and strict watch is to be kept of the settlements around Pentagoet and the Kennebeck.²

The English disregarded the terms and soon the "Firm and True Peace" became a pleasant fiction under which the burning of a village or the capture of a fort might be regarded as a playful gesture. The author dwells on the conduct of the Abbé Thury and the Jesuit fathers, Jacques and Vincent Bigot, as political agents of France. In the defence of French missionaries the author of a recent study of the Abenaki missions has said:

The missionary was in a better position than any one else to see the difficulties of the natives. The English official of that day, and the average English writer of the present scores the missionary as an emissary of the French Crown; on the

¹Public Archives of Canada., *Cromwell papers*: Jno Leveritt to Cromwell, Boston, July 4, 1659.

²Public Archives of Canada, *Archives nationales*, C¹¹ D, vol. 2-1, pp. 153-4, 1686.

other hand the representatives of the French Military and Civil power were continually complaining that the priests were not active in stirring up the Indians against the English. What seems to have aroused the missionary to action at this time was the report that a Protestant minister had been sent to the Fort of Pemaquid to teach the young savages to read and write.³

The English on their part asked the assistance of the council to keep the Indians faithful to the crown:

I should be glad if you would think of ways to Ingage the Neighbour Indians in a Trade with you, which I am apt to believe may be managed with that advantage to them by a good regulation and underselling the French, that their friendship and fidelity may be secured to the Crown and then they will no longer be thorns in your sides.⁴

A year before the abbé wished to remove the Indians from all contact with the whites by gathering them into one settlement at Chibouctou.⁵

In the carefully annotated journals, memoirs, and letters published by Dr. Webster, we have clear exposition of Villebon's administration. The picture of the close of the century is not altogether pleasing, but one can accept the presentation with confidence. Villebon was a man who had learned the meaning of service. In the midst of "intrigues, quarrels, suspicions and jealousies", surrounded by men utterly unscrupulous, he kept ever to the front the interest of his royal master.

There were a few choice spirits in Acadia in that day whom we meet in a new rôle. Perrot, the ex-governor of Montreal for example, is no longer defying the haughty Frontenac, but seated with all humility on the ducking-stool is being persuaded to reveal the source of his hidden treasure. The miserable plight of the ex-governor as he arose from the water must have brought joy to the heart of the commandant. It was a period when men grew rich, possibly at the expense of the king, but Villebon, like the Picts when surrounded by the Scots, seems to have been left with nothing in his hand. After thirty years of strenuous life he was content with the knowledge that he enjoyed the protection of the king.

The student in the future will turn with gratitude towards this survey. Forty pages of Dr. Webster's work are devoted to biographical sketches of the persons mentioned in the text, including a lengthy article on the family of St. Castin about which much has been written of late.⁶

The usefulness of this publication is increased by the inclusion of notes on other topics mentioned in the text, such as the budget of Acadia during the régime of Meneval, the census of 1686, a description of Chedabucto and of other places. Dr. W. F. Ganong has made many valuable contributions to the book, notably, remarks on the Indians of Acadia, variations in orthography, and some rare sketch-maps. The volume is well printed, has a good index, and few typographical errors have been detected.

A. G. DOUGHTY

³Sister Mary Celeste Leger, *The Catholic Indian missions in Maine, 1611-1820* (Washington, 1929), 94. The fighting clergy of Champlain's time had passed on but a renewal of fistic encounters in a gentlemanly manner might have had beneficial effects.

⁴Public Archives of Canada, C.O. 5, vol. 860, p. 208: His excellency the Earl of Bellomont's speech to the honourable the council and house of representatives, convened in general assembly, at Boston, in his majesties province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England on Fryday the 2d of June, 1649.

⁵Lettre du ministre à M. Thury à Versailles, le 13 avril 1699.

⁶Robert le Blant, *Une figure légendaire de l'histoire acadienne: Le Baron de St. Castin* (Dax, France, Edition P. Pradeau).

Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1932-1933. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1933. Pp. xiv, 456.

THIS is the thirteenth annual report published by the provincial Archives of Quebec. In most respects it is uniform with the immediately preceding issues. It falls into three main divisions. First (pp. 1-244), the calendar of the correspondence of the Roman Catholic bishops of Quebec is continued through that of Bishop Plessis for the years 1792-1831. The Plessis "out" letters were calendared in two instalments in the reports issued in 1928 and 1929. Those included in the present report are mostly the "in" letters. Secondly (pp. 245-304), M. Massicotte's lists of "hiring-contracts" for the fur-trade west of Montreal, begun in the report for 1929-30 and continued in succeeding issues, are here brought to a close with the years 1758-78. Lastly (pp. 305-91), to the "Mémoire" and the "Journal" of the Chevalier de La Pause, which were presented in the 1931-2 report, are now added further La Pause "Mémoires". It is to be regretted that the practice, maintained in all earlier reports, of inserting facsimiles of documents, maps, etc., has been discontinued in the present volume.

More than half the report deals with the Plessis correspondence, calendared from the original documents in the Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec by the Abbé Caron. The latter describes the nature of this material in a prefatory summary. The reports for 1930-1 and 1931-2 contained the episcopal correspondence of Quebec up to 1806. In that year died Bishop Denaut, whose coadjutor and successor was Bishop Plessis. But Denaut lived at Longueuil and hence the correspondence of Plessis, who lived at the centre of things at Quebec, becomes important long before he succeeded to the diocese. The present report contains a few letters for 1792, 1794, and 1797, but the bulk of the correspondence lies between 1798 and 1825. In the latter year Plessis died and there are only a few items for 1826 and 1831. Among the papers here calendared are not only many documents of local ecclesiastical interest which the bishop received in the course of his diocesan administration, but also hundreds of letters which reflect religious and political developments both in Canada and the outside world. Quebec being the only diocese in Canada, ecclesiastical correspondence was largely concentrated in that of its bishops. Most of these "in" letters come from Canada, England, Ireland, France, Italy, the United States, and Newfoundland. They are not lacking in historical interest and value. It was a time of stirring events and wide transitions, and in these many of Plessis's correspondents were directly or indirectly involved. Of more general historical significance are references in the letters from "outside" to such movements as the Irish Rebellion of '98, the struggles between revolutionary France and Napoleon on the one hand and the champions of the older order of things in Europe on the other, and the resultant *rapprochement* between the government of Great Britain and the leaders of the Catholic church both at home and abroad. Canadian historians will find in the letters material bearing on corresponding developments in British North America. Plessis, shepherd of a subject flock, maintained the "loyalist" policy of his predecessors, strikingly exemplified during the American

Revolution. This policy raised considerable opposition within his own fold and was not always successful against outside hostility. From the point of view of the welfare of his church and people, however, it was the only sane course for the bishop to pursue. So thanksgiving was offered in the churches for British victories over France and the weight of the clergy was thrown in favour of the government against revolutionary propaganda and against the United States in the War of 1812. The bishop had his reward. A pensioner of the British government, he entered the legislative council and with the support of successive governors rapidly expanded and reorganized his immense diocesan field. Such, briefly, is the story told by the Plessis letters.

M. Massicotte's list of "engagements", copied from the originals in the Judicial Archives of Montreal, terminates a series whose interest is chiefly genealogical, but also economic and regional. French-Canadian historians, among whom there is a lively interest in the genealogy of their own race, will be aided by the lists in tracing the career of many a hitherto-obscure scion of many an early French-Canadian family. The economic historian may find here, too, new light on the changes which took place in the control and personnel of the fur-trade in the interior during the period which begins with the Seven Years' War and closes with the American Revolution. In this connection a statement of the wages involved in the "contracts" would have been valuable. As many of the trading posts mentioned here were in territory now forming part of the United States, there is, as the editor remarks, a widespread interest in these lists across the border. Not all the "engagements" available have been published. Perhaps in future reports M. Massicotte may continue the series from 1778 down to 1850. Should he do so, a prefatory note explaining the significance of the "contracts", such as was prefixed to those published in the report for 1929-30, would be desirable.

The "*Mémoires*" of the Chevalier de La Pause deal with the events of the Seven Years' War in America between the years 1755 and 1760. They contain the observations of a leader on the French side who played a prominent and ubiquitous rôle in the struggle. From this point of view the "*Mémoires*" form a rather complete picture, the first one describing the circumstances of Braddock's defeat, the last one recording the surrender at Montreal. As the editor notes, they contain little of importance that is new, but by throwing new light on an immense number of details, provide the material for a fuller picture of the period than has hitherto been available. The original manuscripts of the "*Mémoires*" are in the possession of the chevalier's descendants, the family of the Countess of Ledinghem. The Archives of Quebec possess photostatic copies from which the selections presented in the reports are published. Besides the nineteen "*Mémoires*" appearing in the present volume, there remain six which the editor of the report hopes to publish in the next issue, and whose titles are listed on page 306.

The editorial work of this report is well done. The location and nature of the sources used are clearly stated. In the case of the Plessis correspondence the exact occurrence in the Archiepiscopal Archives of each document calendared is given with full details. Where a passage has already been published, the fact is noted and the reference given.

All the documents of each group are arranged in chronological order. There is an exhaustive index of personal names and another of place-names. The printing is excellent. The value of the volume would have been increased by the addition of an index of subject names. Furthermore, the table of contents still suffers from a lack of distinction between titles of divisions and headings of subdivisions. On the whole, the archivist is to be congratulated on the high quality of this his thirteenth report. Future issues will be awaited with interest and confidence.

DONALD J. PIERCE

Montcalm et la tragédie canadienne. Par ANDRÉ LICHTENBERGER. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1934. Pp. 244.

MAKING no bones about it, the author frankly confesses in his introduction that his book brings forth no new facts nor documents, his material being borrowed from previous works. His only claim is that he re-tells the well-known story with a better perspective and in a less biased manner. This claim will probably be found justified, as Mr. Lichtenberger has succeeded in building up a piquant, colourful, and attractive narrative based on sound psychology with a pleasing touch of sophisticated philosophy.

But to learn to write interestingly is not quite sufficient an apprenticeship for an historian and many pages betray the unpractised hand of the author. The book is much more a biography of Montcalm than a story of the "tragédie canadienne". The military campaigns are lacking in information and the Battle of the Plains is deficiently narrated in about one page. The unqualified acceptance of authorities, like La Hontan and Bancroft, and references to Fenimore Cooper's *The last of the Mohicans*, reveals a lack of critical documentation. One also meets with several gross inaccuracies: for instance, De Beaujeu's army at the Monongahéla included 150 soldiers and militiamen and 600 Indians, not 2,500 Canadians (p. 36); soldiers of marine were regulars, not militiamen (p. 67); no fleet could go from the Hudson to Montreal (p. 108); Wolfe did not speak after being wounded, nor was Montcalm buried in a shell-hole (p. 223). Yet, in spite of its blemishes Mr. Lichtenberger's book remains, thanks to his psychological insight, one that will certainly please the ordinary reader.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

American Colonists in English Records: A Guide to Direct References in Authentic Records, Passenger Lists not in "Hotten", etc. First and second series. By GEORGE SHERWOOD. London: The author, 210, Strand, W.C. 2. 1933. Pp. 216.

THESE volumes which appeared some months ago, are intended to contain direct references in English records to colonists in America. That such are extraordinarily difficult to obtain is well known, and they are the more welcome for that reason. The author is an experienced record searcher and archivist: and it has been his aim to gather such floating particles of information about the colonists in America as seem worth saving. The utmost pains have been taken in the examination of the records of the courts, chancery, and exchequer, the registry of the probate

court, the records of the companies, the public record office, the proceedings of the privy council, *etc.*; in fact, no available source of information has been neglected.

While the whole would seem, at the first glance, to be a mere collection of names unconnected with each other, even a superficial examination discloses matters of interest. The first series begins with Sir George Somers, who, "intending to voyage to Virginia", makes his will in 1608. It is well known that, in 1609, he was wrecked on the "Somers Islands", Shakespeare's "still-vexed Bermuthes", our Bermuda, and that he intended to settle these parts but was prevented by death. Nevertheless, the islands were long called by his name, and the close connection between these islands and Virginia is manifested more than once in these pages. There are given many bits of information, some of them curious in character, which throw light on various aspects of the life of the Thirteen Colonies and, in some cases, of Canada. Topics such as education, social and economic conditions, the transportation of convicts—principally to Virginia—the motives of various types of immigrants, are here illustrated.

The publisher sends, on receipt of postage only, the index showing the names of those who have been met in his researches, and of whom some mention is made. Thus anyone interested in any particular name is enabled to ascertain whether assistance is to be had from this series.

The paging is continuous in the two series, and a full index of names is added, many of which became known in American, and a few in Canadian, history. The paper, type, proof-reading, and binding are all beyond reproach.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

The Search for the Northwest Passage. By NELLIS M. CROUSE. New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. 533. (\$4.00)

MR. CROUSE breaks into his subject without the usual impedimenta of preface, foreword, introduction—and that in itself is something of a recommendation. It is true that the opening chapter might be called an introduction, but in this case it is the necessary background of early voyages upon which he is to describe the adventures of Arctic explorers in search of the North-west Passage in the nineteenth century.

The story is well told, as often as practicable in the language of the explorer or one of his companions, and makes a well-constructed and very readable narrative. Mr. Crouse goes back to the original narratives for the framework and most of the substance of his book; his standpoint is in the main admirably objective; and there are very few points to which even the most captious reviewer could reasonably take exception.

After the preliminary chapter, Ross's first voyage is described and that of Buchan, then the first voyage of Parry, followed by the second, Franklin's first overland expedition, Parry's third voyage, Franklin's second overland expedition and Lyon's voyage, Ross's second voyage, the journeys of Back and of Simpson and Dease, Franklin's last voyage and the early relief expeditions, McClure's voyage, the attempts to ascertain the fate of Franklin, and the Amundsen voyage in which for the first time in history a ship actually made the North-west Passage. Adequate attention is given in one or other of the chapters to such

expeditions as those of McClintock, Rae, Collinson, Richardson, Beechey, and others.

Reading that part of the preliminary chapter in which the author discusses the attempts to find a passage along the west coast of Hudson Bay, one is puzzled to know why none of the early explorers appears to have investigated the possibilities of Chesterfield Inlet. Wager Inlet, as Mr. Crouse reminds us, was carefully examined, but the deep inlet south of it seems to have been ignored.

Probably the most significant incidents of the long search for the passage were Parry's discovery of Lancaster Sound on his first voyage, opening the way to the passage; the discovery of Fury and Hecla Strait on his second voyage, which offered a possible route, but apparently was continuously blocked with ice; the discovery of the magnetic pole by J. C. Ross in 1831; the discovery of the passage by McClure, who actually travelled through from the Pacific to the Atlantic, though not in a continuous voyage; and the voyage of the *Gjoa* through the passage.

One is reminded, in reading Mr. Crouse's book, that Horatio Nelson sailed under Phipps in the Polar voyage of 1773; that James C. Ross, Franklin, Beechey, and Back all served under Ross on his first voyage; that Richardson accompanied a battalion of marines to Canada in the War of 1812; that Back was a midshipman on the *Akbar* in the same war; and that McClure and McClintock both served under Sir James Ross in the *Enterprise* in 1848. These are but isolated facts, some of them suggesting why the dream of discovering the North-west Passage was never allowed to be forgotten, and others linking two of the leaders of the land expeditions to earlier Canadian history.

Mr. Crouse's book is equipped with a few illustrations, a map of the Arctic regions, a bibliography, and an adequate index.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

The Civilization of the Old Northwest: A Study of Political, Social, and Economic Development, 1788-1812. By BEVERLEY W. BOND. New York: The Macmillan Company. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. ix, 543. (\$4.25)

THE "Old Northwest", as the term is used by historians of the United States, included the region between the Ohio River and Lake Erie and west to the Mississippi. Here, especially in Ohio and Indiana, was first developed that distinctive western American culture, based primarily on free labour and cheap land, which later spread beyond the Mississippi and eventually formed the middle west of our own day. The formative period in the Old Northwest, which is the subject of this book, has, therefore, an importance which passes far beyond its own limits of time and space. In the Old Northwest could be seen the first operation of what may be termed the American colonial system through which the unorganized territory could finally achieve the full dignity of statehood. Here, too, the fur-trade dwindled into insignificance early in the nineteenth century, and by 1812 there were revealed in embryo the characteristics of the later middle west. Professor Bond has given us something on almost every possible aspect of the subject—migration, land distribution, politics, trans-

portation, trade, cultural and social foundations, religion, *etc.* The achievements recorded are those of the pioneer community and are naturally greater on the material than on the cultural side. Whether the reader considers the word "civilization" to be appropriate in the title will perhaps depend on his sentiments with regard to the multitude of "Main Streets" which have been at least one result of the processes the beginnings of which Mr. Bond describes.

Canadian history is touched at a number of points, especially in those sections which deal with the fur-trade and Indian policy. The book deals on the whole very fairly with the background of the War of 1812 and makes clear why the western settler firmly believed the British government and the marauding Indian to be arrayed in an unholy alliance against him. Officials on both sides did little to correct these impressions, and the feeling of the settler could scarcely have been otherwise, even if it did the British government less than justice. While, however, there are points, such as the above, of contact and comparison between the history of Canada and that of the Old Northwest, they are few in number as compared with the points of dissimilarity. Of this fact the book under review is an excellent demonstration. The pattern of development and the directing forces in the British provinces were in many respects essentially different from those south of the lakes. For any student of Canadian history who believes that easy generalizations of value may be made to transcend these differences, a careful perusal of Mr. Bond's volume is strongly recommended.

GEORGE W. BROWN

The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder. By MAURICE S. SULLIVAN. Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press. 1934. Pp. xvi, 195.

FIFTY years ago little was known of Jedediah Smith; and that little is represented by Bancroft's *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884, II, 456ff.). But in 1902 Chittenden in his history of the *American fur trade of the far west* (New York, 1902) pieced together the romantic story of this pioneer adventurer; since that time it has been common knowledge. It comes, therefore, as somewhat of a shock to read in the foreword of this volume that until fifteen years ago Smith's discoveries were not known. It comes as an even greater shock to read of him as "the man who charted the way for the spread of the American empire from the Missouri River to the Western Sea". Smith did not cross the Rocky Mountains until 1824 and did not see the Pacific Ocean until 1826 or, perhaps, 1828. By that time the route, along the Columbia River at any rate, was well-trodden and way-worn. Such extravagant claims detract from his real merits. The statement that Smith discovered South Pass will hardly go unchallenged. In regard to his crossing of the High Sierra in May, 1827, the book adds little to Chittenden's account (I, 284), for the diary does not begin until after that event: June 24, 1827.

Jedediah Smith spent eight stirring years, 1823-31, in the outmost

parts of the, then, unknown west. It appears from the foreword that he kept a daily record of his movements. This was supposed to have been entirely destroyed; but by dint of patient searching the author has found a portion, which after a short sketch of Smith's entry into the fur-trade jumps over a period of some five years and continues with a daily record from June 24, 1827, to July 3, 1828. The author has filled up the intervening gap. This fragment constitutes all in the nature of a journal yet discovered. It deals with Smith's remarkable journey on foot over the Utah desert, his second visit to California, his adventures there and in Oregon up to the massacre of fifteen of his nineteen men with the loss of his horses and his furs.

The journal covers eighty-seven pages—19 to 105. The remaining fifty pages of text are from the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. They contain letters from Governor Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin to Smith and the day-by-day journal of the expedition under Alex. R. McLeod sent by that company to recover Smith's property from the Umpqua Indians. The correspondence shows the kindness of the company to him, a rival trader, in handing over all the horses, furs, and other goods so obtained without one cent of charge.

In 1824 Smith had fallen in with the Hudson's Bay Company's trapping party under Alexander Ross, journeyed with them to Flathead House, and returned to Bear River with Ogden's brigade. He left Ogden in April and on May 24 twenty-three of Ogden's freemen deserted to the Americans. The company blamed Smith for this disaster. Unfortunately the fragmentary journal now published throws no light on this incident; and as it ceases on the day on which the Umpquas destroyed his party we are without any comment by Smith upon the generous conduct to him.

Though Smith's journal does not touch these two points of special interest to Canadians it will nevertheless be found of value for its detailed account of his movements in Utah, California, and Oregon. The notes are full, accurate, and satisfactory. The foreword, however, becomes at times flamboyant. Expressions like "Jedediah Smith, a giant of the Western world", and the "fighting Knight in Buckskin, the man who opened the gates through which passed the American builders of the West", are more fitting for the "Penny horrible" than for the calm atmosphere of history. The book contains a map of Smith's travels, and about twenty illustrations, mostly of a personal or family nature. It has plainly been a labour of love. It is well printed, has a reasonable index, and is most attractive in appearance.

F. W. HOWAY

The Federal Railway Land Subsidy Policy of Canada. By JAMES B. HEDGES. (Harvard Historical Monographs, III.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. viii, 151. (\$1.25)

The Illinois Central Railway and its Colonization Work. By PAUL WALLACE GATES. (Harvard Economic Studies, XLII.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1934. Pp. xiii, 374. (\$4.00)

PROFESSOR HEDGES gives a brief and competent survey of the development of Canadian policy in regard to the railway land-grant system, and

a description of the form in which the land subsidies were transferred to the railway companies. Though he expresses the opinion that the system was at its best in the case of the grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and at its worst when applied to the colonization railways of the west, he makes no estimate of the extent to which the subsidies contributed to the development of rail transportation on the prairies. He dismisses the colonizing activities of the smaller subsidized railways as negligible, and promises a later work on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The constitutional issue raised by the decision of the federal government to build a transcontinental railway by means of the land through which it had to pass is a point which Mr. Hedges overlooks. In Canada, he says, "there could, of course, be no question as to the constitutional right of Parliament to vote land subsidies in aid of railways". Yet the railway land-grant system involved the government in a transgression of constitutional precedent and a breach of the British North America Act which Macdonald could justify on the basis of expediency alone. Thus, though it is quite true that "sectional cleavage" was absent from the debates on the C.P.R. grant, the prairies, once populated, became articulate, and the west has had many demands to make of the federal government in the matter of railway subsidies. In this regard, something might have been said concerning the grant in aid of a railway to Hudson Bay, a subsidy which, under the administration of the federal government, had yielded nearly three million dollars by 1929.

The constitutional irregularity arising from the railway land-grant system of the federal government made all the more flagrant the abuses which arose under the "fairly fit for settlement" clause and which are clearly indicated in this book. This provision in the grants enabled the companies to locate their lands irrespective of the position of their lines. The result was to give to the companies a selection of the best land on the prairies, and, in many cases, entirely to divorce colonization from railway-building operations. The practice led also to the anomalous situation in which railways in one province were subsidized with land from another. For Mr. Hedges the most serious criticism of the Canadian land-grant system was the existence of this clause in the railways contracts. Its principal merit, in contrast to the system in the United States, was the greater elasticity which made possible a better arrangement for railway colonization in sub-humid areas.

During a period of fifteen years at the end of the last century, the federal government in Canada granted fifty-six million acres of land on the prairies in aid of railway construction, and of these grants over thirty-eight-and-a-half million acres were earned by the railway companies. The importance of this vast railway domain in inducing companies to undertake construction, in providing them with credit, and, later, in making them the agents of colonization remains to be determined. For the consideration of these questions Mr. Hedges has provided a useful basis.

The story of the Illinois Central, the first American railway to be subsidized by a federal land grant, is told in thorough detail by Professor Gates. The grant of 2,160 acres per mile was made by the federal government to the state and subsequently by the state to the railway

company; it thus represents a stage in the development of the land-subsidy policy not experienced in Canada. The concession of this subsidy to the state legislature of Illinois in 1850 came as the result of a prolonged political controversy. It was, according to Mr. Gates, not an agreement on tariffs that induced the eastern representatives in congress to compromise on land policy, but the growth of eastern financial interests in Illinois.

The most important result of the grant was the enlistment of the railway company as an energetic agent of colonization. To capitalize on its two-and-a-half million acres of land, and to develop traffic on its lines, the company adopted an aggressive emigration policy that carried its agents as far afield as Sweden, and for a time made real estate the most important branch of its business. By 1870 all but a half-million acres of the poorest land had been sold in accordance with policies for the most part "wise and well carried out".

Mr. Gates's admirable account of the contribution of the railway to the development of Illinois might well serve as the model for a similar study of the Canadian west.

R. G. RIDDELL

Canada's Past in Pictures. Written and illustrated by CHARLES W. JEFFERYS. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. 131. (\$3.00)

HISTORICAL illustrations by Dr. Charles W. Jefferys have long been recognized as combining in unusual degree the accuracy of the careful scholar with graphic effectiveness as representations of scenes and incidents. As scholar he has been an assiduous and critical student of contemporary evidence, documentary and literary as well as visual. As artist he has applied himself to the problem of presenting his results not only with accuracy of detail but with imaginative insight and a care for proportion and design that might more often be emulated by the ordinary historian who is confined to the use of words as the vehicle for the transmission of his knowledge and ideas. Such publications as the *Chronicles of Canada* and various school histories of this country have been enlivened and enriched by his work with pen and brush, while dramatic interest has been given to the walls of the Manoir Richelieu and the Château Laurier by his mural paintings. The distinctive quality of his knowledge and his work was recognized beyond Canadian borders when the Yale University Press, emulating the *Chronicles of Canada* by projecting the *Chronicles of America*, secured him not merely as illustrator but as assistant editor of that distinguished series. Later he contributed also to the same publishers' *Pageant of America*.

Dramatic episodes in Canada's story (reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, September, 1930, p. 274 and December, 1931, p. 390) gave a foretaste of what the present volume offers on a larger scale. In it are gathered fifty of his illustrations of Canadian history, many of them specially re-drawn in line for large-page reproduction here. The brief historical accounts accompanying the pictures supplement them admirably.

Dr. Jefferys is to be congratulated upon recapturing the spirit of the past with such a happy combination of accurate detail with a lively

sense of the drama and romance of history. For the young the book offers an enviable introduction to Canadian history. Those unfortunate readers, for whom the subject has been jaded ever since they first met it wrong end to, should find here the means of its rejuvenation. It is welcome news that the artist-scholar is already planning another series.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

Essays in Constitutional Law. By W. P. M. KENNEDY. London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xv, 183. (\$2.50)

STUDENTS of the constitution are familiar with Professor Kennedy's short studies which have appeared from time to time in law journals on both sides of the Atlantic. In this little volume seven of the best are reprinted. Three are on the theme of British Commonwealth relations—"Theories of law and constitutional law of the British Empire", "The imperial conferences 1926-30; The Statute of Westminster", and "Interpreting the Statute of Westminster"; and four on the Canadian constitution—"The nature of Canadian federalism", "The disallowance of provincial acts", "Law and custom in the Canadian constitution", and "Some aspects of Canadian and Australian constitutional law".

A detailed examination of the essays would here be out of place because they are already known to most students of the constitution. But they may serve as a peg for some remarks about the author's place in the literature of the subject. Less encyclopædic than Professor Keith, whose studies have long stood as the authoritative reference works, Professor Kennedy is more penetrating; less technical than such lawyer-commentators as Sir William Harrison Moore, or the late Professor Lefroy, he is more politically-minded; and, more of the social philosopher than the historians of the constitution, his interest in the past is primarily because of its value as a guide to the present and the future. Moreover, he brings to his study of the dry bones of constitutional law an imaginative style unequalled among his fellow commentators. These essays are some of Professor Kennedy's best work, both from the point of view of matter and style. It is for this reason, as well as that of convenience for students of the constitution, that the appearance of these essays in book form, though they are still available elsewhere, is very acceptable.

ROBERT A. MACKAY

The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture and The Ulukhikjalingmiut. By KNUD RASMUSSEN. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-4, VIII, nos. 1 and 2.) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordsik Forlag. 1931. Pp. ii, 550.

THE inaccessible area between Boothia Peninsula and King William Land, far to the north-west of Hudson Bay, is the home of a small group of Eskimo, the Netsilingmiut, or Seal People. It was in this region that Franklin perished, and though members of search expeditions encountered the natives and recorded a number of observations, no scientific study was made prior to the visit of the Danish Fifth Thule Expedition in 1923. Its leader, Rasmussen, equipped both by training and experience for his task, has succeeded in giving an admirable account of the people—of their thoughts and mental processes as well as of their actual mode of life—

and his findings have been rendered into readable English without any loss of scientific clarity. This volume is fully on a par with the earlier reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, which are unsurpassed in ethnological literature.

The Netsilingmiut are an inland group of Eskimo who appear to have moved to the coast relatively recently; caribou are still important in their lives, but their inland neighbours regard them as seal people, and describe them as such, although their catches of seal are too scanty to provide more than the bare necessities of food and clothing. Indeed, hunger is their constant dread; the quest for food compels them to move repeatedly and, in the two years preceding Rasmussen's visit, twenty-five individuals had died of starvation from a population of less than three hundred. The author shared in the poverty and hardships of Netsilingmiut life; with sympathy and understanding he paints their activities, and the attitude of fear and hope, of jollity and despair, with which they face their surroundings. Supernatural beings are ever present, and since the animals themselves are the children of a deity, their killing depends on religious as well as hunting skill. Hence every action is hedged with taboos; there is a proper time for everything, even the mending of clothing, and woe to an offender for the punishment is the withdrawal of the animals upon which life depends. Twenty years ago it was generally believed that all Eskimo were culturally closely akin; Rasmussen's work has finally disproved that fallacy. The Netsilingmiut, for example, stand out as a distinctive group, less prepossessing than most Eskimo, but—apart from the human interest that attaches to all varieties of *homo sapiens*—of great scientific importance as illustrating an Eskimo group in the process of transformation from inland to coastal dwellers.

The second part of this volume deals with inland Eskimo groups, the Utkuhikjalingmiut of the Back River watershed. To them seal are virtually unknown, and caribou are the key-note of existence. To some extent this gives them a stable food supply, though caribou are notoriously erratic, but it means that there is no blubber for lamp or cooking pot and accordingly houses are unheated during the Arctic winter—a major cultural differentiation between them and the Netsilingmiut. In other respects, too, they differ—in taboos, in beliefs, and even in cleanliness. Rasmussen's stay among the Utkuhikjalingmiut was too brief for a comprehensive report, but he has given a good general account, and a vivid picture of a friendly people whose mode of life is rapidly changing before the onrush of civilization.

T. F. McILWRAITH

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PARTITION OF NOVA SCOTIA

(The following communication has been received from Miss Marion Gilroy of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. The partition of Nova Scotia was discussed in an article by Miss Gilroy in our issue of December, 1933, and also in a letter from Professor Bartlet Brebner in our issue of March, 1934.)

I was very much interested in Professor Brebner's contribution to the discussion of the relative importance of local and imperial policy in determining the partition of Nova Scotia, 1784. The following information has come to my attention, and is now offered in the same spirit as Dr. Brebner's communication.

As early as 1770, a plan had been conceived for a new province, to be called New Ireland. The name is very distinctly marked on a map, a copy of which is to be found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.¹ This map is referred to by its author, Samuel Holland, surveyor-general of the Northern District, in a letter to Hillsborough of the same date, written while Holland was on a survey of the northern coast of Massachusetts and the continental shore of Nova Scotia west of the Bay of Fundy:

I lately had a long conversation with Commodore Gambier at Boston, as well as with some of the principal gentlemen of that Place, who wish well to Government, and the Result was, that nothing could so effectually secure His Majesty's Interest in this particular, & give Ease to Individuals, as making a separate government of the whole Territory. Their sentiments accord with those I have long entertained on this subject & I cannot but think it would be greatly to the King's advantage if it was, & it was then hinted to me, that something of this kind was on the Carpet at Home, as the late conduct of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, was such as must severely affect their charter; & would give government an opportunity of separating this territory of Main, politically, as it is separated naturally from its present head. Supposing a Province to be erected there, the Happiest Boundaries for it, I, with great submission think, would be the River St. John in the Bay of Fundy, to the East, & Saco River with the New Hampshire Boundary to the West, agreeable to the sketch I have the honor to enclose.²

This plan anticipates that of John Nutting, advanced by Mr. Brebner as the earliest project for a new province in the revolutionary period, by almost a decade. Moreover, while Mr. Brebner credits Nutting with a plan for a province in the despatch of January 17, 1778, it seems to me that Nutting was concentrating rather on the establishment of a post "more convenient than Halifax as an Arsenal for Stores, Careening of Ships, etc."³ at Penobscot. When he declared, "I have had this

¹Public record office, CO 5, vol. 72/4, pp. 281-2. MS. map of the country between New Hampshire and Nova Scotia, enclosed in letter of Holland to Hillsborough, December 19, 1770.

²Willis Chipman, "The life and times of Samuel Holland" (*Papers and records of the Ontario Historical Society*, XXI, 1924, 36): Letter, Samuel Holland to Hillsborough, December 19, Kittery, Piscataqua River.

³Public Archives of Canada, CO 5, vol. 155, no. 88: Nutting to Lord George Germain, January 17, 1778.

object in view for more than two years past", he referred to "a post there [small island in Penobscot Bay which] would be the best place to command the Coast from Cape Cod over to Casco Bay . . . and from Rhode Island all the Southern Provinces may be commanded". It was not until 1780 that Nutting, after having served some time as overseer of the works at the fort at Penobscot,⁴ mentioned a province as distinct from a post: "Could we bring the people to a sense of their duty and reduce them to Obedience from Casco Bay to the Bay of Fundy, the Contents of this Acquisition would form a very valuable Province and be of more Utility to Government than any other Province in America".⁵

Further proposals for territorial changes fall easily into two groups. The first, following in general outline the proposals of Holland and Nutting, is grounded on the desirability of partitioning Massachusetts in order to secure political obedience and, as the revolution progressed, to provide governmental rewards. The venerable Loyalist, John Calef, aptly and concisely stated the reactionary policy common to this group, when he advocated the erection of New Ireland from "said district into a government, and Officers appointed with a Special Commission to . . . bury in oblivion the Errors of His Majesty's deluded subjects . . . by fixing them in a Royall Government".⁶ He had suggested in an earlier letter that, if a government were established "in and about the State of Vermont the inhabitants would immediately be in the King's Peace. . . ." The *raison d'être* for a new province in Goldthwait's opinion was the desirability of compensating Tory sufferers. "Before these troubles commenced", he stated, "these people in general complained of their being at too great a distance from (Boston) the seat of government. . . . And they saw no remedy but by being erected into a new government . . . but the troubles . . . put an end to it. . . ." Benjamin Thompson saw in the "Establishment of New Ireland" an opening for "several American Gentlemen of my acquaintance".⁸ The possibility of serious democratic protest from Massachusetts prior to the revolution had caused a renewed interest in the northern and eastern section of the province. The proposed partition offered at first a definite check against the insurgent element of the population and later a field for the rewarding of Loyalists. The local spontaneous movement mentioned by Goldthwait was lost sight of during the struggle. Local pressure in northern and eastern Massachusetts did not create a new state before the close of the war.

The second group of suggestions presents a striking contrast. It includes the recommendations of the reliable old surveyor-general of Nova Scotia, Charles Morris, and the less reliable chief justice, Bryan Finucane. They represent the spirit of synthesis and as such were in-

⁴W. H. Siebert, "The exodus of Loyalists from Penobscot and the Loyalist settlements at Passamaquoddy" (*Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, 1914, no. 9, 485-529).

⁵CO5, vol. 157, pp. 17-20: Nutting to Knox, January 8, 1780.

⁶Public Archives of Canada, *Shelburne MSS.*, vol. 66, p. 444: Calef to Germain, March 2, 1781.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 489-503: Description of the Penobscot territory, endorsed by Colonel Thomas Goldthwait.

⁸CO 5, vol. 157, p. 391: Benjamin Thompson to William Knox, August 30, 1780.

terpreted by the Tory politicians both of New England and the colonial office as voices crying in the wilderness. Consolidation was too closely associated in the minds of the dictators of British governmental policy with disaffection and rebellion to be tolerated even in a province which had refused to join the revolution.

There can be no doubt that the lessons drawn from the American Revolution dominated British policy in the "new deal" of 1784. Those lessons were seen and stated as early as 1780 by William Knox in his remarks on the establishment of the province of New Ireland, which would eventually be a model for all the colonies: "It has been found by sad experience that the democratic power is predominant in all parts of British North America."⁹ The plan evolved, based on the most reactionary elements from the various suggestions for a new province—"a model for all the colonies", with its established church, aristocratic council, and system of large landholdings—was ready for use in 1783. And the fact that it had not been tried in Massachusetts gave it an inviting air of infallibility. The statement made in 1789, on drawing up a plan of government for Canada, exhibits the same reaction as had that of 1784: "In order that we may profit by our experience there & avoid, if possible, in the Government of Canada, those defects which hastened the independence of our ancient possessions in America. . . ."¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the man responsible for the unsigned memorandum in the Nova Scotia state papers of December, 1783, which dictated the partition of Nova Scotia—William Knox—had been in touch with every plan which emanated from Massachusetts with regard to the proposed province of New Ireland.

It seems to me that an understanding of these ideas which lay behind the plan for the province of New Ireland is of considerable value in considering the partition of Nova Scotia. The project for New Ireland, and as applied to New Brunswick, was part of a reactionary and coercive scheme. *Divide et impera* was the solution of the Tories of Massachusetts as well as of the colonial department in England. The arguments of policy were joined to those of expediency. Holland was told in 1770 that "something of this kind was on the carpet at home". The particular needs of the Loyalists, as well as the isolation of the western section of Nova Scotia and the Island of Cape Breton, facilitated the execution of the plan. Certainly the erection of a separate establishment in Cape Breton cannot be traced to pressure exerted by the five hundred Loyalists who settled there after the partition. While the early projects for New Ireland arose out of the desire "to bring the people to a sense of their Duty and reduce them to Obedience", Nova Scotia was partitioned so that this unhappy necessity would never again occur. While Nutting's plan was of the war, grounded on military tactics, the general idea behind the proposed reduction of Massachusetts was the idea dominating the partition of Nova Scotia. The loss of the Thirteen Colonies was the catalytic agent necessary to convert theories into facts.

⁹Shelburne MSS., vol. 66, p. 517.

¹⁰Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa, 1918), part 11, 982-3.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WILLIAM LAWSON GRANT

ON February 3, Principal W. L. Grant of Upper Canada College died in Toronto. He was born in Halifax, N.S., November 2, 1872, his father being the Rev. George M. Grant, later the distinguished principal of Queen's University. He was educated at the Kingston Collegiate Institute; Queen's University; Balliol College, Oxford, where he received a first in "Greats" in 1898; and the University of Paris. As a teacher, he filled several positions of importance: master in Upper Canada College and in St. Andrew's College, 1898 to 1904; Beit lecturer in colonial history in Oxford, 1906 to 1910; professor of colonial history, Queen's University, 1910 to 1915. He was appointed principal of Upper Canada College in 1917, where his work contributed notably to every phase of the school's development. Principal Grant was a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, 1911. The University of Toronto conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He saw active service in the Great War, 1915 to 1917, first with the 59th battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and then with the 20th battalion as a major.

His reputation as an historian will rest securely on a large number of books and articles of sound scholarship, among which the following may be mentioned: A life of Principal Grant of Queen's University (with Frederick Hamilton), 1904; the Champlain Society's edition (with Dr. H. P. Biggar) of Lescarbot's *History of New France*, 1907-14; *Voyages of Champlain*, 1907, in the "Original narratives of early American history"; *Acts of the privy council, colonial series* (with J. Munro), 1907-10; *Canadian constitutional development shown by selected speeches and despatches* (with Professor H. E. Egerton), 1907; *Ontario high school history of Canada*, 1914; *The tribune of Nova Scotia: A chronicle of Joseph Howe*, 1915; Dr. Grant was also general editor of the 1926 edition of the "Makers of Canada".

Principal Grant had a sanity of judgment and a clarity of thought and expression which deservedly gave his opinions a widespread influence. He took an active interest in the promotion of sound views on education and in the advocacy of worthy causes, such as that of peace and civil service reform. He was at one time president of the League of Nations Society of Canada, and also of the Workers' Educational Association of Toronto. His genial personality and breadth of warm human interests were combined with the true instincts of the scholar. His reviews in this journal were very typical of him: fair and kindly, but pungent and critical in the best sense of that term. The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is indebted to him for many services since its establishment, including his membership on the board of editors for a number of years. Dr. Grant made a secure place for himself in the history of Canadian education, and his death will be deeply regretted by a multitude of former students and associates, not only in the field of scholarship but in many other walks of life.

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association is to be held at Queen's University, Kingston, on May 27-8. A joint session is to be held on May 28 with the Political Science Association, an announcement of whose meeting appears below. Meals and rooms will be provided in the university residences at special rates for single men and women and for men and their wives. Announcements will be sent out in good time to members. Interested non-members may secure information by writing to the secretary-treasurer of the association at the Public Archives, Ottawa.

The annual report of the Canadian Historical Association for 1934 is in the hands of the printer and will be sent out in the very near future.

The annual meeting of the Political Science Association will be held at Queen's University, Kingston, May 28-30, 1935. The sessions on the first day will be joint sessions with the Canadian Historical Association. The general sessions will be devoted to various phases of the Canadian federal problem. Two afternoons will be used for round-table discussions of other problems.

The first number of a new quarterly, the *Canadian journal of economics and political science*, was published in February by the society and the University of Toronto Press. The society has already published six annual volumes, but the need for a quarterly has been strongly felt and the new journal will undoubtedly find a wide circle of readers. It replaces also *Contributions to Canadian economics*, of which seven numbers had appeared.

The REVIEW welcomes also the first number, just published, of the *University of Toronto law journal*, which will include two numbers in each volume. Under the able editorship of Professor W. P. M. Kennedy the journal will be an invaluable aid to lawyers and others interested in the history and problems of law. The first number is a substantial volume of 231 pages, and includes articles and documents, a survey of Canadian legislation, notes on recent cases, reviews of books, and other features.

The Queen's University Summer School of Historical Research will again be held at the Public Archives in Ottawa—the dates for 1935 being July 4 to August 16. The school will be under the direction of Professor W. M. Whitelaw, whose recently published volume on *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation* is reviewed in this issue of the REVIEW. Arrangements can be made for those desiring university credit, and also for those who wish assistance but do not desire to take a specified course. Full information may be obtained from Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University, Kingston.

The Danish Royal Academy of Science and Letters, Copenhagen, has propounded the following question: "Quelles sont les origines de la plus ancienne civilisation des Esquimaux?" Answers will be received up to October 31, 1935, and a prize has been offered consisting of the gold medal of the academy and one thousand crowns.

The contributors to this issue of the REVIEW are: Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University; Professor H. M. Thomas of the University of Western Ontario; Mr. W. S. MacNutt, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, a graduate of Dalhousie University who has done post-graduate work in London; Mr. S. C. Richardson of Footscray, Victoria, Australia; Professor H. A. Innis and Professor Edgar McInnis of the University of Toronto. We are again indebted to Professor T. F. McIlwraith of Toronto for the annual list of recent publications on Canadian anthropology.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver. At the forty-first annual meeting, the secretary and curator reported, with regard to the historical section of the City Museum and Art Gallery, that much material of historic value has been added to the archives, consisting of documents, photographs, and many other items recalling the early history of the province. A fine collection of lantern slides has been secured from the original paintings of Lieutenant Hood, the official naval officer appointed to accompany the first Arctic land expedition in 1885, under Sir John Franklin.

British Columbia Historical Association. The officers of 1934-5 are: president, H. T. Nation; vice-presidents, Dr. T. A. Rickard and B. A. McKelvie; honorary secretary, Mrs. A. H. Cree; honorary treasurer, G. S. McTavish; editor, W. N. Sage of the University of British Columbia. Permanent address, c/o The Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.

Haldimand Historical Society. For the annual meeting on November 12 the Cayuga court room was filled to capacity. A feature of the occasion was the formal opening of the county museum by the society, adequate quarters for which have been provided by the council in the courthouse building. The exhibit, which will be permanent, is rich in pictures of pioneer persons and scenes, utensils, furniture, and other objects of interest. George H. Smith gave an address on "The bibliography of historical publications relating to the Niagara Peninsula", and Louis Blake Duff dealt with the possibilities of research concerning the origins of the smaller communities in the county. David Duff was elected president and Mrs. H. L. Laws secretary.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* held its first quarterly meeting in 1935 on February 4, with the president, Mr. W. R. Smith, in the chair. There was an attendance of about sixty. The honorary superintendent of Fort Anne National Park gave a summary of his annual report to the commissioner of national parks, which showed that there had been an increase of 2,121 visitors over the previous year, and that a large number of interesting and valuable acquisitions had been added to the museum. A paper was read on the "Origin and history of the apple industry in Nova Scotia"; and lantern slides illustrating the history of Annapolis Royal from 1605 to the present time were explained by Lieut.-Col. E. K. Eaton. (H. Laura Hardy, Secretary)

The *Historical Society of Argenteuil County* was incorporated in November, 1934. Hon. president, Arch. Kains; president, Dr. B. N. Wales; vice-presidents, Mrs. G. F. W. Kuhring, Dr. Maude E. Abbott,

W. J. Pitcairn, Dr. H. B. Cushing, J. S. Giles, M. de Lery Macdonnell; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Walter Windsor, St. Andrews East, P.Q.

The *Kent Historical Society* was organized in 1912 and during the next twelve years published a number of articles bearing on the history of Kent County. Its activities stopped in 1926, but at a meeting held on November 3, 1934, the society was revived. Mr. O. K. Watson of Ridgetown was elected president and Miss Pearl Wilson of Chatham secretary.

The *Norfolk Historical Society* held its annual meeting on Friday, February 1. The annual report of the curator of the museum stated that documents and relics were continually being received for the Norfolk Museum. An interesting pamphlet on *Norfolk place names* by Henry Smith Johnson was published by the society in 1934. President, E. H. Jackson; vice-presidents, J. A. Wallace, Mrs. A. W. Donly, Mrs. McCallum; secretary, B. M. Pearce; treasurer, Mrs. A. Mackay.

The *Norwich Historical Society* held an exhibition in the fall of 1933 of pioneer handiwork, pioneer implements, and family treasures. The list published in the local paper, the *Gazette*, occupies several columns and gives justification to that paper's statement that "it would be difficult to find a locality richer" in such articles. The exhibition was repeated in 1934. Weaving, spinning, and rug-making were exemplified, and young people in old-time costumes sang and danced to old-time music played on old-time instruments. President, T. H. Pobdon; secretary, A. L. Bushell; historian, Miss K. Stella Mott.

Prince Edward Historical Society. It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Mr. Fred Newman, the late president of the society. Mr. Newman had given his interest and support to the study of local history for many years and his death is a great loss to historical scholarship in Prince Edward County.

At the annual meeting of the society on Thursday, October 25, Major Carstairs gave an address on Loyalist history and tradition. The vice-president, Mr. A. E. Calnan, was in the chair. Secretary-treasurer, E. A. Morden, Picton, Ont.

The *Saanich Pioneer Society* was revived in 1923, and in 1933 built its museum in the grounds of the Saanich Agricultural Hall. This museum, known as Pioneer Hall, is built of cedar logs and was erected by the voluntary labour of the sons and grandsons of the original settlers in the district. Inside the building is a fire-place built of native granite, within which hang old iron pots and kettles of pioneer days. Around the walls are photographs of pioneers, while ox yokes, old saddles, side saddles, flails, and other early implements are suspended from the rafters. In the centre of the hall, hanging from the roof, is a wheel from the first binder to come to Vancouver Island. On either side of the door on the verandah are two carriage lamps from the old carriage that was used to drive the governor-general. In the museum collection are: an old flint-lock trade gun, once the property of the last big chief of Saanich before the Indians sold their lands to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1852; two old spinning wheels, one of which came across the continent from Ontario, candle moulds, Hudson Bay trade pickaxes, hand-made axes, muzzle loader guns, shot bags, and powder flasks. The society has also been active in marking the graves of pioneers. President, Geo. Michell, Sidney, B.C.; secretary, R. E. Nimmo, Saanichton, B.C.

La Société Historique de Montréal. During 1934 the following papers were read to the society: "Du commencement de la découverte du Canada par Jacques Cartier" by Gérin Lajoie; "Les secrétaires des gouverneurs et des intendants de la Nouvelle-France" by Pierre-Georges Roy; "Le drame de la Grosse-île et les victimes du typhus en l'année 1847" by the Abbé A. Desrosiers; "En marge de Jacques Cartier" by Gérin Lajoie; "Le premier voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada, 1534" by M.A. Beaugrand-Champagne; "Promenades historiques dans l'île de Montréal et ses environs" by Victor Morin; "Les députés du comte du Napierville du 1854 à nos jours" by J. J. Lefebvre; "Le Chevalier Antoine Sébastien Falardeau, artiste-peintre" by Emile Falardeau; "De l'immigration au Canada depuis la conquête" by Georges Langlois. President, Victor Morin; secretary, Napoléon Brisebois, 1931 rue Centre, Montréal.

La Société Historique du Saguenay was founded in 1925 and reorganized in 1934. It has for its purpose the conserving, studying, and making known the local history of the Saguenay district, and to this end old residents of the district have been interviewed, sources of local history have been explored, and a course of historical research has been organized among the students of the Séminaire de Chicoutimi during the summer holidays. The society has also been instrumental in restoring the name "Jacques-Cartier" to a street in Chicoutimi, has held a public conference on regional history, and has published the Abbé Tremblay's book on *Le temps de Jacques Cartier*. It is also concerning itself with the restoration of the posts of Métabetchouan and Coteau du Portage. The society has its library and museum in the Séminaire de Chicoutimi and some of its most important treasures are: a collection of documents relating to the "postes du domaine du roi" of 1760 to 1801; a manuscript of "Notes sur le Saguenay" by the Abbé Martel (1865); thirty-three "Mémoires" of pioneers of the district; and a valuable register containing more than fifty documents of the Société de Kamouraska. President, the Abbé Victor Tremblay; vice-president, J. C. Gagné; secretary-treasurer, J. O. Lapointe; corresponding secretary, the Abbé L. Angers; librarian, the Abbé Alphonse Tremblay; director of the museum, the Abbé J. B. Savard; archivist, the Abbé Lorenzo Angers. Permanent address, Séminaire de Chicoutimi.

The *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa* holds its meetings in the Public Archives Building. The following addresses have been given this winter before the society: "Some Loyalists of the Ottawa Valley" by General E. A. Cruikshank; "Family junk and Canadian history" by T. W. L. MacDermot; "The economic factor in post-war history" by John MacCormac; "Some aspects of prairie settlement" by Wilfrid Eggleston; "An unique experiment in education" by Dr. H. N. Tory. President, Mrs. J. Lorn McDougall; corresponding secretary, Mrs. H. G. Barber.

The *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto* has participated in many activities during the past year, including the unveiling of the tablet to Brulé at the Humber River; the acceptance of the first house in Halton County, at Georgetown; the reopening of Old Fort York; British day at Fort Niagara, N.Y., during the Four Nations celebrations. The society gives its continual services to Colborne Lodge in High Park and to the society's house at Old Fort York.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Canada and imperial defence. I: *The evolution of the principles which govern Canada's relations with the mother country.* II: *The principles of imperial defence* (Canadian defence quarterly, XII (1), Oct., 1934, 40-6; XII (2), Jan., 1935, 183-8).

CHARTERIS, A. H. *The British Commonwealth Relations Conference at Toronto, 1933* (Transactions of the Grotius Society, XIX, papers read before the society in the year 1933, 1934, 137-53). This account of the Toronto Conference is in places inaccurate in its statement of fact, while throughout its tone and approach are somewhat unfortunate. (W. P. M. K.)

FULLER, J. F. C. *Imperial defence* (Nineteenth century, Feb., 1935, 129-40). An historical sketch and survey of the present problem.

GARVIN, J. L. *The life of Joseph Chamberlain.* Volume three: 1895-1900. *Empire and world policy.* London: Macmillan and Co. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. ix, 632. (\$6.00) Reviewed on page 65.

GEMMA, SCIPIONE. *L'Impero Britannico.* (Istituto Nazionale Fascista di Cultura, Studi Giuridici E. Storici, diretti da P. S. Leicht.) Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli. 1933. Pp. 405. (15l.) To be reviewed later.

GEORGE, DAVID LLOYD. *War memoirs.* Volumes I-IV. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1934. Pp. 2439. (\$6.00) Reviewed on page 65.

GLAZEBROOK, G. deT. *British Empire migration* (Pacific affairs, VII (4), Dec., 1934, 437-9). An analysis of a report (see below) to the secretary of state for dominion affairs.

La Grande-Bretagne et le commerce inter-impérial (Actualité économique, 10 année, no. 8, nov., 1934, 427-30).

HALL, HENRY L. *Australia and England: A study in imperial relations.* London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1934. Pp. xii, 320. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

HUGHES, HECTOR. *Address* (Canadian Bar Association, minutes of proceedings of the eighteenth annual meeting held at Ottawa, August 30, 31, and September 1, 1933, 112-9). A discussion of the right of a dominion parliament to abolish the formal oath required of its members.

JENNINGS, W. IVOR. *The law and the constitution.* London: University of London Press. [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company.] 1933. Pp. xiv, 270. (\$1.95) To be reviewed later.

KEITH, A. B. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, series 3, XVI (4), Nov., 1934, 289-300). An admirable survey of the new constitutional developments in South Africa; of recent developments with regard to direct taxation in Canada; and of the privileges of the crown in respect of the production of documents.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Essays in constitutional law.* London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xv, 183. (\$2.50) Reviewed on page 89.
and SCHLOSBERG, H. J. *The law and custom of the South African constitution: A treatise on the constitutional and administrative law of the Union of*

South Africa, the mandated territory of South-west Africa, and the South African crown territories. London: Oxford University Press. 1935. Pp. xxxix, 640. To be reviewed later.

L., E. *Britiiska imperiia* (Rozbudova naciji, Aug., 1934, 197-206).

LE DUC, THOMAS H. *The last vestige of disallowance* (Canadian bar review, XII (9), Nov., 1934, 579-80). A note on the legislation governing dominion government loans in the London market.

MELBOURNE, A. C. V. *Early constitutional development in Australia: New South Wales 1788-1856.* London: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. viii, 456. (\$7.50) To be reviewed later.

MOWAT, R. B. *A short history of the British Empire.* London: Rivington's, 34 King Street, Covent Garden. 1933. Pp. xii, 305. (3s. 6d.) A survey of the political, economic, social, and international history of the empire from its origin in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the present day. A brief résumé of the principal landmarks in Canadian history is given in two chapters on Canada. Part III of the volume deals with the empire in relation to the Great War, the dominions after the war, the imperial conferences, the "economic blizzard of 1930-2", and the Ottawa conference. A number of maps are included and an index.

NICOLSON, HAROLD. *Curzon: The last phase, 1919-1925: A study in post-war diplomacy.* London: Constable and Co. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. xvi, 416. (\$5.50) Reviewed on page 65.

Report to the secretary of state for dominion affairs of the inter-departmental committee on migration policy. London: H.M.S.O. 1934. Cmd. 4689. A sober and careful analysis of the problem of empire migration. The report surveys the objects of state-aided migration in the empire, the conditions under which it can take place, forms of migration, the function of voluntary organizations, training and care of migrants, administration, and finance.

SIEGFRIED, ANDRÉ. *A foreigner looks at the empire* (Nineteenth century, Dec., 1934, 595-603). Discusses in particular the possibility of the centre of gravity of the British Empire being shifted away from Europe.

SNOWDEN, Viscount. *An autobiography.* Volumes I-II. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1934. Pp. 1094. Reviewed on page 65.

STECHER, CONSTANCE FIELD. *The development of imperial federation* (Social studies, XXV (8), Dec., 1934, 434-41). A sketch of the stages in the development of the organization of the British Commonwealth, and an account of imperial communications, defence, foreign and economic policies, etc.

STIEBEL, REGISTRAR A. *The Statute of Westminster and its effects* (Transactions of the Grotius Society, XIX, papers read before the society in the year 1933, 1934, 32-40). A summary, with commonplace commentary.

ZIMMERN, ALFRED. *The third British Empire: Being a course of lectures delivered at Columbia University, New York.* Third edition revised and enlarged. Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 192. (6s.) To be reviewed later.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

FARRELLY, THEODORE S. *The Russians and pre-Bering Alaska* (Pacific historical review, III (4), Dec., 1934, 444-8). Information concerning the bibliographical material on Russian expansion in Alaska, and the translation of a letter by a monk, Guerman, at Kadyak, Alaska, about 1794, which throws light on Russian activity.

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Le duel au Canada.* (Collection du Zodiaque "35".) Montréal: Les éditions du Zodiaque, Librairie Déom Frère, 1247, rue Saint-Denis, 1934. Pp. 317. (75 cents) To be reviewed later.

- GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *A short history of international affairs, 1920 to 1934*. Preface by the Rt. Hon. Lord EUSTACE PERCY. Oxford University Press. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1934. Pp. xi, 351. (\$2.25) To be reviewed later.
- JEFFERYS, CHARLES W. *Canada's past in pictures*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. 131. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 88.
- JONES, C. H. L. and RADDALL, THOMAS H. *The Markland sagas*. Liverpool, N.S.: The Mersey Paper Company. A finely printed and illustrated little book, published in a limited edition for private circulation. The evidence for the Norse voyages is well presented and a bibliography is included.
- KIRKPATRICK, F. A. *The Spanish conquistadores*. --(The pioneer histories, edited by V. T. HARLOW and J. A. WILLIAMSON.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xiii, 367. (\$4.50) This excellent series of "Pioneer histories" is continuing to fulfil the promise of its editors "to provide broad surveys of the great migrations of European peoples—for purposes of trade, conquest and settlement—into the non-European continents". This volume begins with the first voyage of Columbus, and carries the story to the middle of the sixteenth century, describing the conquests of Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Chile, New Granada, etc. The book is well provided with maps and contains a good index.
- LATANÉ, JOHN HOLLADAY. *A history of American foreign policy*. Revised and enlarged by DAVID W. WAINHOUSE. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1934. Pp. xvi, 862. (\$4.00) Though there are comparatively few changes in the earlier chapters, this work remains valuable for its concise and accurate treatment of Anglo-American relations, especially with reference to Canada. Apart from a reference to Canada's part in securing the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, there is nothing in the later chapters to indicate the assumption by Canada of direct initiative in her relations with the United States. The chapters on the post-war period, however, are useful for their full treatment of recent American policy in world affairs, whose influence on Canada's position is not the less important for being indirect. (E. McINNIS)
- MERCER, ROBERT H. *Newfoundland as the forty-ninth state of the U.S.A.* (American mercury, Aug., 1934, 496-500).
- QUAIFE, MILO M. *The myth of the Kensington rune stone: The Norse discovery of Minnesota, 1362* (New England quarterly, VII (4), Dec., 1934, 613-45).
- STEELE, Major HARWOOD. *The long ride: A short history of the 17th Duke of York's Royal Canadian Hussars*. Montreal: Gazette Printing Company. 1934. Pp. 48. (25 cents) This little book is a contribution to the history of Canada and the Canadian militia, and it will be of interest to all students of British military history. In tracing the history of the regiment, the author gives as background an excellent general idea of the history and evolution of the Canadian militia as a whole since 1812. Included are many details of the chief campaigns in which the militia has served since the War of 1812. Details of interest to members and ex-members of many British and Canadian regiments with whom the 17th D.Y.R.C.H. has had contact are also given, and items relating to the history of Montreal have been included. There are a number of illustrations. This booklet may be obtained from the 17th D.Y.R.C. Hussars, 42 Pine Avenue West, Montreal.
- STEJNEGER, LEONHARD. *An early account of Bering's voyages* (Geographical review, Oct., 1934). A fairly literal translation of the third chapter of the second volume of an authentic account of Bering's second expedition published about 1743 by Peter Von Haven.
- STYLES, WILLIAM A. *Slave days in Canada* (Canadian magazine, LXXXIII (1), Jan., 1935, 15, 28, 41).

WALLBANK, T. WALTER. *The future of Newfoundland* (United empire, XXVI (2), Feb., 1935, 74-8).

(2) *New France*

Arpenteur, notaire et avocat (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (1), janv., 1935, 47-8). A note on François Lemaître Lamorille (about 1685-1766).

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *La merveilleuse aventure de Jacques Cartier*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1934. Pp. 117. (75 cents) To be reviewed later.

BÉRIAULT, EDOUARD. *L'épopée légendaire des coureurs de bois au XVII^e siècle* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (4), oct.-déc., 1934, 425-441; V (1), janv.-mars, 1935, 101-15). A study of the *coureur de bois* and his place in the society and development of New France.

CHINARD, GILBERT. *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 25, rue de Tournon. 1934. Pp. viii, 454. (40 fr.)

DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *La grande aventure de Le Moyne d'Iberville*. Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1934. Pp. 213.

DELANGLEZ, JOHN. *The Natchez massacre and Governor Perier* (Louisiana historical quarterly, XVII (4), Oct., 1934, 631-41). A discussion of the massacre in 1729 and the rôle played therein by the governor of Louisiana.

French pathfinders of Wisconsin: Explorers, traders and missionaries French regime 1634-1703: Wisconsin tercentenary. Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Museum. 1934. Pp. [x].

GAITHER, FRANCES. *The scarlet coat*. Illustrated by HARVÉ STEIN. New York: The Macmillan Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. 205. (\$2.50) A stirring tale of a Canadian boy's adventures in La Salle's expedition to the Mississippi. Mrs. Gaither's historical stories for boys and girls form a vivid background for the study of history.

LANCÔT, GUSTAVE. *Jacques Cartier et son oeuvre* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, V (1), janv.-mars, 1935, 33-48).

Le premier parlement canadien de 1657 (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, 20^{ème} année (80), déc., 1934, 348-58). An account of the elective council of 1657.

LE JEUNE, LOUIS. *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, IV (4), oct.-déc., 1934, 442-73). An account of his fourth campaign, the capture of Port Nelson, 1693-5.

La mission nationale française au IV^e centenaire de la découverte du Canada (France-Amérique, 25^e année, no. 276, déc., 1934, 169-96). Includes addresses on "Jacques Cartier à Gaspé" by M. P. E. Flandin; "Portrait de Montcalm" by le comte Jean de Montcalm; "Portrait du Chevalier de Lévis" by le duc de Lévis Mirepoix.

La Normandie exploratrice et colonisatrice du X^e au XVIII^e siècle: Exposition rétrospective, maritime et coloniale. Organisée par la Société normande de Géographie du 10 juin au 15 juillet 1932. Catalogue analytique rédigé par Mlle. JEANNE DUPIC et M. RENÉ ROUAULT de LA VIGNE. Rouen: Imprimerie Wolf. 1932. Pp. 143. This catalogue lists with a description the maps, manuscripts, books, paintings, drawings, engravings, navigation instruments as well as ship models, displayed at the maritime and colonial exhibition arranged at Rouen by the Société normande de Géographie. This exhibition's purpose is to exemplify the colonial activities of Norman ports and mariners. A certain number of items are of direct Canadian interest and the catalogue should be useful to bibliographers. Among

doubtful statements, one or two might be singled out: is it really established that no. 231, listed Michel Sarrazin, represents the well-known Canadian medical man? As to no. 2, *Mappemonde harléienne*, it is a mistake to ascribe it to Roze, in 1542; it is most probably the work of Descelliers around 1536. (GUSTAVE LANCTOT)

La revue des questions historiques. Paris: Septembre, 1934. Pp. 151. To commemorate Canada's discovery by Jacques Cartier, *La revue des questions historiques* has devoted its September number to a series of articles relating to Canada. The best way to summarize the contents is to give here the list of the authors and papers: Hon. Philippe Roy, "Les voyages de Jacques Cartier"; H. P. Biggar, "Les premiers navigateurs français à Terre-Neuve"; R. LaRoque de Roquebrune, "Un rival de Jacques Cartier, Roberval" and "Montcalm et Lévis"; Emmanuel de Cathelineau, "Jacques Cartier, Roberval et quelques-uns de leurs compagnons"; Edmond Buron, "Deux pionniers de la Nouvelle-France, De Monts et Poutrincourt"; Jean Désy, "Champlain et Frontenac" and "Vauquelin"; R. Gobillot, "Jean Talon, intendant de la Nouvelle-France"; François Leblanc, "Le héros de la Terre, Louis Hébert"; Louis de Saint-Pierre, "Un patriarche canadien-normand, Pierre Boucher" and "Les Normands au Canada"; François Mournaud, "Les Allobroges au Canada"; Amiral G. Loizeau, "Les provinces de France au Canada"; "Relation des faits héroïques de Mlle Marie-Magdeleine de Verchères", publiés par M. Beauchesne.

The articles make interesting reading, but none of them breaks new ground, except Mr. Cathelineau's attempt to minimize Cartier's character for the benefit of some impecunious "gentilshommes", who accompanied him with the hope of enriching themselves. The article does not produce an iota of evidence to uphold his case, while Cartier's journals show decisively—and the more so, since he claims they were written by Poulet—the perfect insignificance of their part. In fact, if the author's story is accepted, the only apparent contribution of the "gentilshommes" would be to have wrecked the expedition by their mistreating the Indians, a remarkable feat, no doubt, for "gentilshommes". Moreover, one question stands out: if Cartier was a weakling, how is it to be explained that he was given command in three successive expeditions? As to the swashbuckling Roberval's supposed qualities as a leader, the less said the better, as one remembers his personal shortcomings and piratical depredations.

MM. Mournaud and Loizeau's articles should be noted for biographical and demographic purposes. (GUSTAVE LANCTOT)

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les secrétaires des gouverneurs et intendants de la Nouvelle-France* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (2), fév., 1935, 74-107).

ROY, RÉGIS. *Au siège de Louisbourg en 1758* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (1), janv., 1935, 55-7). Some statistics of the number of regiments, of casualties, etc., at Louisbourg in 1758.

VILLIERS, BARON MARC de. *Un explorateur de la Louisiane: Jean-Baptiste Bénédict de la Harpe (1683-1765)*. Rennes: Imprimeries Roberthur. 1934. Pp. 46. An urbane account of the pioneer explorer of the Red, Arkansas, and Canadian Rivers, based upon MSS. sources in the French public depositories and in the author's possession. A further segment in Baron de Villiers's now extensive re-writing of the history of the Mississippi basin. (J. B. B.)

(3) British North America before 1867

ALBION, ROBERT GREENHALGH and DODSON, LEONIDAS (eds.) *Philip Vickers Fithian: Journal, 1775-1776, written on the Virginia-Pennsylvania frontier and in the army around New York*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1934. Pp. xviii, 279. (\$3.50)

ATKIN, W. T. *Snake River fur trade, 1816-24* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (4), Dec., 1934, 295-312). An account of expeditions by Donald McKenzie and Alexander Ross.

- AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *William Cuthbert (1795-1854)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (2), fév., 1935, 112-3). A note on the representative for Bonaventure County in the Canadian legislature, 1848-51.
- CAREY, LEWIS J. (trans. and ed.). *Franklin is informed of Clark's activities in the old Northwest* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (3), Dec., 1934, 375-8). A letter from Petre Sargé to Franklin, from La Rochelle, 1779.
- CLARK, G. N. *The later Stuarts, 1660-1714*. (Oxford history of England.) Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xx, 461. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- Colonel Anthony Wayne's orderly book of the northern army* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (5), Jan., 1935, 218-25). Covering the period, at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, from December 1-16, 1776. At pp. 200-1 of the *Bulletin* there is a brief biographical note on Anthony Wayne.
- CREE, MURIEL R. *For crown and fur trade* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 2, Sept., 1934, 46-9). Incidents in the career of Sir James Douglas, first governor of the colony of British Columbia.
- The diary of John Jay during the peace negotiations of 1782: Being a complete and faithful rendering of the original manuscript, now published for the first time*. With an introduction by FRANK MONAGHAN. New Haven: Yale University Bibliographical Press. 1934. Pp. 17. (\$2.00)
- DOWNES, RANDOLPH C. *Dunmore's war: An interpretation* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXI (3), Dec., 1934, 311-30). Touches on significant factors in the Indian war of 1774.
- EVANS, ANDREW (trans.) *A trip to the prairies and in the interior of North America, 1837-1838. Travel notes by Count Francesco Arese*. Translated from the original French. New York: The Harbor Press. 1934. Pp. xxiv, 217. (\$2.50) The itinerary included the Great Lakes and Canada, and the notes are valuable for their descriptions of the life of the settlers and the Indians, and of Canada at the time of the Rebellion of 1837.
- GEHRI, ALFRED L. *Fort Nisqually lives again* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 2, Sept., 1934, 50-4, 65). An historical sketch of a Hudson's Bay Company's post, founded on Puget Sound in 1833, and now being restored at Tacoma, Washington.
- Governor William Hull (Governors of the territory and state of Michigan, Bulletin no. 16, Michigan Historical Commission, 1928, 13-35).*
- KERR, WILFRED B. *Fort Niagara, 1759-1763* (New York history, XV (3), July, 1934, 281-301). A study on the capture and occupation of Fort Niagara by the British forces, based on the papers of General Amherst in the public record office (war office 34).
- LAWSON, F. M. *Relating the War of 1812 to current problems* (Social studies, XXVI (1), Jan., 1935, 36-9). A suggestion for teachers.
- LEVESON GOWER, R. H. G. *HBC and the Royal Society* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 2, Sept., 1934, 29-31, 66). The archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company describes the early relations between the two organizations and shows how, by 1737, the company was making contributions towards scientific investigation.
- MARTIG, RALPH RICHARD. *The Hudson's Bay Company claims, 1846-1869*. Urbana, Illinois: 1934. Pp. [10]. An abstract of a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Illinois.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Le rameau catholique des "Joseph"* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XL (12), déc., 1934, 751-5). Biographical and genealogical notes on two Jewish colonists called Joseph, who came to Canada at the end of the eighteenth century.
- Vente de biens entre deux guichets* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (1), janv., 1935, 51-2). A note on Jean-François Bossue dit Lyonnais (1795-1838).

- MONTBRAS, Le vicomte de. *Avec Lafayette chez les Iroquois*. Paris: Firmin Didot et Cie. 1929. Pp. 131. (18 fr.) Contains an account of a visit to the Iroquois Indians of Ontario.
- MONTGOMERY, RICHARD G. *The white-headed eagle: John McLoughlin builder of an empire*. New York: The Macmillan Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1935. Pp. xiii, 358. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- MOWAT, R. B. *British spies in the American Revolution* (Discovery, XV (176), Aug., 1934, 224-7).
- OGG, DAVID. *England in the reign of Charles II*. 2 volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1934. Pp. xiv, 388; vii, 389-771. (\$9.00 per set) To be reviewed later.
- ORTON, HELEN FULLER. *The gold-laced coat: A story of old Niagara*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1934. Pp. x, 226. (\$2.00) The story of a boy at old Fort Niagara in the days of the Seven Years' War. The book is attractively printed, bound, and illustrated.
- PETERSON, A. EVERETT. *Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, editor of New York historical records*. (New York history, XVI (1), Jan., 1935, 64-74). Makes only a passing mention of his contacts with Canada.
- PORTER, KENNETH W. *Negroes and the fur trade* (Minnesota history, XV (4), Dec., 1934, 421-33). A study in racial aspects of the fur-trade.
- PRATT, JULIUS W. *Fur trade strategy and the American left flank in the War of 1812* (American historical review, XL (2), Jan., 1935, 246-73). An admirable article dealing with the territories of Illinois and Missouri, and based on documents in the American war department and Indian office.
- Report of the congressional committee, 1776* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (5), Jan., 1935, 205-11). A report on the condition of the northern American army in 1776. The manuscript is in the Fort Ticonderoga library.
- ROSEBOOM, EUGENE HOLLOWAY and WEISENBURGER, FRANCIS PHELPS. *History of Ohio*. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc. Pp. 545. (\$5.00) Has some material of interest to Canadian students of the War of 1812.
- The Royal American Regiment of Foot* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, III (5), Jan., 1935, 201-5). An account of their action at Ticonderoga in 1758.
- SAMUEL, SIGMUND (comp.). *The Seven Years' War in Canada 1756-1763: Being a volume of records and illustrations together with a pictorial travelogue showing the stage of development which America had reached seventy years after the Seven Years' War*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. xiv, 282. (\$6.00) To be reviewed later.
- SHERWOOD, GEORGE. *American colonists in English records: A guide to direct references in authentic records, passenger lists not in "Hollen," etc.* First and second series. London: The author, 210, Strand, W.C. 2. 1933. Pp. 216. Reviewed on page 82.
- SIEBERT, W. H. *General Washington and the Loyalists* (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1933).
- SULLIVAN, MAURICE S. *The travels of Jedediah Smith: A documentary outline including the journal of the great American pathfinder*. Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press. 1934. Pp. [xvi], 195. Reviewed on page 85.
- WALLACE, W. S. (ed.) *Documents relating to the North West Company*. Edited with introduction, notes, and appendices. (The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXII.) Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1934. Pp. xv, 527, xii. To be reviewed later.

WEELEN, JEAN-EDMOND. *Rochambeau*. Préface de GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Avec 7 gravures, une carte hors texte et une carte dans le texte. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1934. Pp. viii, 278. The part played by Rochambeau in the American Revolution, and the siege of Yorktown, are described.

WILSON, CLIFFORD P. *The emperor at Lachine* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 2, Sept., 1934, 18-22). The second article in a series on Sir George Simpson and the Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters at Montreal.

The emperor's last days (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 3, Dec., 1934, 49-51). This concluding instalment describes Simpson's entertainment of the Prince of Wales in 1860 and his death at Lachine.

WOODBURN, JAMES A. *Benjamin Franklin and the Peace Treaty of 1783* (Indiana magazine of history, XXX (3), Sept., 1934, 223-37).

WRONG, GEORGE M. *Canada and the American Revolution: The disruption of the first British Empire*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1935. Pp. xii, 497. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

ADARKAR, BHALCHANDRA P. *The principles and problems of federal finance*. With a foreword by Sir CECIL H. KISCH. London: P. S. King and Son. 1933. Pp. xviii, 301. (12s. 6d.) A chapter on Canada discusses the constitutional background and such problems as subsidies and debt settlements, crown lands and natural resources, and dominion and provincial financial relations.

BREBNER, J. B. *The interplay of Canada and the United States* (Columbia University quarterly, XXVI (4), Dec., 1934, 331-8). An estimate of Canadian-American interplay in men and goods, institutions and ideas.

BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *Citizenship and nationality in Canada* (Saturday night, Jan. 6, 1934, 2). A discussion of legal anomalies.

CLAXTON, BROOKE. *Getting in step with peace* (Canadian congress journal, XIII (9), Sept., 1934, 14-6). A discussion of Canada in the League of Nations and of a foreign policy for Canada.

A collective system policy for Canada: Second national study project (Interdependence, XI (3), Oct., 1934, 158-69). A syllabus of suggestions for study of Canada's external relations.

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE (ed.). *Documents of American history*. (Crofts American history series, edited by DIXON RYAN FOX.) New York: F. S. Crofts and Co. 1934. Pp. x, 904. An admirable collection. This new edition combines two volumes in one and carries the documents up to June, 1934. Its interest for Canadians will be less in any documents on Canadian-American relations, which are of the scantiest, than in the judicial decisions on the powers of the federal government, especially in economic affairs, and the inclusion of the salient measures of the first year of the new deal. (E. MCINNIS)

CROUSE, GEORGE H. *A critique of Canadian criminal legislation* (Canadian bar review, XII (9), Nov., 1934, 545-78). An historical examination of the sources of the Canadian Criminal Code, the circumstances surrounding its adoption, and its underlying principles, together with a critical discussion of the course of amendment to the code, and some general observations concerning reform.

DEXTER, GRANT. A series of articles on the British North America Act and recent constitutional problems (Financial post, Sept. 8, 22, 29, Oct. 6, 13, 1934).

DOTTIN, PAUL. *L'Angleterre, nation continentale*. (Collection du temps présent.) Third edition. Paris: Tallandier. 1933. Pp. 316. Contains some reflections on Canada. The author believes that "on peut prévoir le moment où le Canada redeviendra un pays français".

- DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1933*. Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, King's printer. 1934. Pp. xxiii, 171. (\$1.00) In 1907 the Public Archives issued a volume of constitutional documents dealing with the years 1759-75. In 1914, the series was carried on to 1818. It is now intended to continue this series by printing a few documents in each annual report. The documents included in the present report (appendix i) begin with the attempt to repress popular discussion in 1818 and end in 1822. The documents have been selected with a view to casting light on the struggle for financial control, the workings of the imperial system, legal and judicial developments, popular representation, the problem of the state church, and other important matters of the time. The documents will later be published in book form. In appendix ii is printed a portion of the calendar, prepared by the late William Smith, of state papers, addressed by the secretaries of state for the colonies to the lieutenant-governors or officers administering the Province of Upper Canada, 1796-1820 (G series).
- ERRERA, CARLO. *L'America Settentrionale* (Geografia universale illustrata, edited by ROBERTO ALMAGIA, VI). Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese. 1934. Pp. 528. (100l.) Contains a brief section on Canada's political history, geography, economic development, etc.
- GAGNON, ONESIME. *Address* (Canadian Bar Association, minutes of proceedings of the eighteenth annual meeting held at Ottawa, August 30, 31, and September 1, 1933, 163-87). Deals with the evolution of Canadian autonomy.
- GROVES, ABRAHAM. *All in the day's work: Leaves from a doctor's case-book*. With a foreword by AMBROSE LORNE LOCKWOOD. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. xv, 181. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.
- HAYDON, J. A. P. *Co-operation, not force, keystone of Canada-United States relations* (Canadian congress journal, XIII (8), Aug., 1934, 22-3). Information about the International Joint Commission and the International Boundary Commission.
- HOWELL, WILLIAM BOYMAN. *F. J. Shepherd—surgeon: His life and times*. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. Pp. ix, 251. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- JENKS, C. WILFRED. *The constitutional capacity of Canada to give effect to international labour conventions* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, series 3, XVI (4), Nov., 1934, 201-15). A learned and critical examination of the relevant Canadian judicial decisions.
- MACLEAN, ANDREW D. *R. B. Bennett, prime minister of Canada*. Third edition. Toronto: Excelsior Publishing Company, 27 Charlotte Street. 1935. Pp. 112. A brief impressionistic biography of the prime minister by his one-time private secretary. Written in swift journalistic style, and illustrated with a series of portraits of Mr. Bennett, this little volume has already run through four editions and has been translated into French, German, and Ukrainian.
- PERRAULT, JOSEPH-EDOUARD. *La confédération canadienne est-elle née viable?* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, V (1), janv.-mars, 1935, 8-25).
- ROGERS, NORMAN MCL. *The constitutional impasse* (Queen's quarterly, XLI (4), winter, 1934-5, 475-86). A discussion of the causes of the present demand for constitutional revision, and of the possible methods of amendment.
- ROZ, F. et PRÉCLIN, E. *L'influence de la France sur la vie intellectuelle des Canadiens-anglais et des États-Unis* (France-Amérique, 26e année, no. 277, janv., 1935, 7-11).
- Smith, Goldwin, 1823-1910 (Encyclopaedia of the social sciences, edited by EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN et al., XIV, New York, 1934, 115-6). Includes a bibliography.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- À travers les Provinces Maritimes* (France-Amérique, 25e année, no. 272, août, 1934, 145-54). A descriptive and historical account.

- DELABY, JEAN. *Les Acadiens en 1931* (France-Amérique, 25e année, no. 268, avril, 1934, 83-4). A statistical study of where the Acadian population is concentrated in the Maritime Provinces.
- DENNIS, CLARA. *Down in Nova Scotia*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 410. (\$2.50). An informal and intimate description with sidelights on history. Illustrated with photographs.
- [NOVA SCOTIA, PROVINCE OF.] *Report of the Royal Commission: Provincial economic inquiry*. Halifax: King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 238.

Appendices. Halifax: King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 133.

A submission on dominion-provincial relations and the fiscal disabilities of Nova Scotia within the Canadian federation. Presented by NORMAN McL. ROGERS. (Royal Commission economic inquiry.) Halifax: [King's Printer.] Pp. iv, 263. Reviewed on page 75.
- (2) **The Province of Quebec**
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Au coeur de Québec*. Montréal: Les éditions du Zodiaque. 1934. Pp. 201. A delightful study of "petite histoire" which touches lightly on the legends of Quebec, the language of the country people in the Laurentians, Laval's school of arts and crafts, the old sculptors of Quebec, Louis Jobin, the last of the great artisans, old churches, and the Island of Orleans.
- BERNARD, ANTOINE. *Au pays canadien: La Gaspésie au soleil*. Edition 2. Tours: Maison Alfred Mame et fils. 1932. Pp. 302. The first edition of this book, which appeared in 1925, was reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. VI, 1925, pp. 257-8. New material has been now added, especially on the local history of the northern coast of the peninsula. The author describes the geography, geology, and fisheries of the district, and gives an outline of its history and folklore. The volume is delightfully illustrated.
- DE MILLE, JOHN B. *The Shickshocks of Gaspé* (Canadian geographical journal, X (1), Jan., 1935, 31-42). A descriptive account of Gaspé in 1923, and of the Shickshock Mountains.
- FALCONER, SIR ROBERT. *Quebec—a second home for French culture* (Saturday night, Feb. 10, 1934, 2, 7). The writer's conclusion is that "it appears highly probable that the influence of French culture will be increasingly powerful, and will be by far the controlling factor in the intellectual life of Quebec".
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Coin de terre historique* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (2), fév., 1935, 108-11). A note on the local history of Montreal and on the family of Mgr. Plessis, on Judge Arthur Davidson, and on Dr. Wolfred Nelson.

Saint-Henri des Tanneries (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (1), janv., 1935, 39-46). Notes on the history of a section of Montreal.

Le tir aux dindons (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XLI (2), fév., 1935, 123-4). A note on the sport of shooting turkeys in early Montreal.
- MIGNAULT, P. B. *Le Code Civil de la Province de Québec et son interprétation* (University of Toronto law journal, I (1), lent term, 1935, 104-36). A study of the codification, interpretation, and jurisprudence of the Civil Code of Quebec by the recognized authority on the subject.
- O'CONNOR, V. C. SCOTT. *Old France in modern Canada* (National geographic magazine, LXVII (2), Feb., 1935, 167-200). A profusely illustrated description of the Province of Quebec.
- PECK, M. A. *Caughnawaga* (Canadian geographical journal, X (2), Feb., 1935, 93-100). A description of the Iroquois village of Caughnawaga near Montreal.
- Le IVe centenaire de la découverte du Canada: Les fêtes nationales canadiennes à Gaspé*. (France-Amérique, 25e année, no. 268, avril, 1934, 73-7). Descriptive notes on Gaspé.

[QUEBEC, PROVINCE OF: DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.] *Statistical year book of Quebec, 1933*. 20th year. Quebec: Rédempti Paradis. 1933. Pp. xxix, 505. The *Year book* gives a review of the Province of Quebec, under its various geographic, demographic, economic, political, and social aspects. Among the most important additions in the edition of 1933 are: data of the census of 1931, regarding population, agriculture, and retail trade; information on the origin, birth-place, and degree of education of the population, the number of wage-earners at work or idle on June 1, 1931, and causes of unemployment; several new tables which give the area, value, equipment, mortgage debt and expenses of farms, and the population living on farms, etc.; figures on retail trading and service establishment under the heading "Commerce"; a statement of sums paid to meet unemployment; and tables showing the variations since 1915 in the capital stock of People's Savings banks.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1933-1934*. Québec: Rédempti Paradis. 1934. Pp. xiii, 459. To be reviewed later.

WALES, B. N. *Memories of Old St. Andrews and historical sketches of the Seigniorship of Argenteuil*. Lachute, Que.: Watchman Press. 1934. Pp. 135. To be reviewed later.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BORDEAUX, HENRY. *À travers le Canada anglais* (Revue de France, 15 déc., 1934, 596-612). Impressions of Ottawa and Niagara by a member of the delegation which represented France at the celebrations in honour of Jacques Cartier.

BULL, WM. PERKINS. *From rattlesnake hunt to hockey: The history of sports in Canada and of the sportsmen of Peel 1798 to 1934*. (The Perkins Bull historical series.) Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation. George J. McLeod, Ltd. 1934. Pp. xxvii, 564. (\$10.00) To be reviewed later.

BYERLEY, A. E. *Fergus or the Fergusson-Webster settlement with an extensive history of north-east Nichol*. Indexed and illustrated with many rare photographs. Elora, Ontario: Elora Express. 1932-1934. Pp. x, 372. To be reviewed later.

CAVERS, VERNIA. *The history of Wellandport* (Pelham pynx, published annually by the students of the Pelham continuation school, Fenwick, Ontario, II (2), April, 1934, 19-22). A brief history of the village of Wellandport, Lincoln County.

DUFF, LOUIS BLAKE. *Our neighbour, Fonthill* (Pelham pynx, published annually by the students of the Pelham continuation school, Fenwick, Ontario, II (2), April, 1934, 22-4). A brief history of the village of Fonthill, Welland County.

Engineering and contract record of July 11, 1934, celebrates Toronto's centennial in an issue which draws attention to the part played by the construction industry in the development of the city. Many interesting sidelights are thrown on the founding and growth of the city, on early engineers and architects, on the history of street-paving, building regulations, water-supply, and on various phases of engineering and electrical development.

FARMER, SAMUEL. *On the shores of Scugog*. 2nd edition, revised, enlarged, and illustrated. Port Perry: The Port Perry Star. 1934. Pp. 256. To be reviewed later.

GOING, A. M. *Old mills of the Loyalists* (Canadian geographical journal, X (1), Jan., 1935, 43-50).

JOHNSON, HENRY SMITH. *Norfolk place names*. Printed for the Norfolk Historical Society. Simcoe: Pearce Publishing Company. 1934. Pp. 15. Historical societies should be encouraged in the publication of useful pamphlets of this kind.

KAISER, T. E. (ed.) *A history of the medical profession of the County of Ontario* edited under the auspices of the Ontario Medical Association. Oshawa, Ont.: Munday-Goodfellow Printing Company. Pp. 128. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

McMANUS, HERBERT. *The Queen's Rangers, 1st American regiment* (Saturday night, May 19, 1934, 14, 16). A sketch of the beginnings and subsequent history of the Queen's Rangers, and its connection with Toronto.

NEIL, STEPHEN. *All the king's men*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. 322. (\$2.00) A vivid romantic novel of Toronto a century ago, and of the Rebellion of 1837.

The port and harbour of Toronto 1834-1934. Toronto: The Toronto Harbour Commissioners. Press of the Hunter Rose Company. [1934.] Pp. 63.

REED, T. A. *Buildings that tell of Toronto's development in construction* (Engineering and contract record, XLVIII (28), July 11, 1934, 578-83).

Toronto port and harbor, 1834-1934 (Canadian railway and marine world, Oct., 1934, 450-3).

WALLACE, W. STEWART (trans.) *A merchant's clerk in Upper Canada: The journal of Thomas Verchères de Boucherville 1804-1811*. Toronto: Rous and Mann. 1935. Pp. 26. A beautifully printed reproduction in translation, with an introduction and an annotated index, of the portion of the journal of Thomas Verchères de Boucherville relating to the author's experiences in Upper Canada between 1804 and 1811. The journal throws interesting light on commercial life in Upper Canada.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

BELL, CHARLES NAPIER. *First white woman in western Canada* (Winnipeg free press, June 23, 1934, 8). Information about the Orkney girl mentioned in Alexander Henry's journal.

COMPLIN, MARGARET. *Floreat Regina* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (6), Dec., 1934, 305-12). An historical record of the capital of Saskatchewan.

COWLEY, MRS. A. T. *Lower Fort Garry in 1868* (Beaver, outfit 265, no. 2, Sept., 1934, 39-41). Reminiscences by the daughter of Chief trader William Flett, who was in charge of Lower Fort Garry, 1867-82.

HARVEY, HORACE. *The early administration of justice in the north west* (Alberta law quarterly, I (1), Nov., 1934, 1-15).

TURNER, JOHN PETER. *When the Mounted Police went west: Part I* (Canadian geographical journal, X (2), Feb., 1935, 53-61). A narrative of the journey to the west in 1874 of the first detachment of the Mounted Police.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

CASTLE, WILLIAM F. *Up the Stikine to the Cassiar* (Canadian geographical journal, X (1), Jan., 1935, 15-21).

HOUGHTON, F. L. *Captain Vancouver: His work on the Pacific coast* (Canadian defence quarterly, XII (2), Jan., 1935, 174-82).

LAING, LIONEL H. *An unauthorized admiralty court in British Columbia* (Washington historical quarterly, XXVI (1), Jan., 1935, 10-5). The story of an admiralty court set up by Sir James Douglas in 1854.

ST. JOHN, R. MONRO. *New Westminster on the Fraser* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (5), Nov., 1934, 247-53).

TURTON, M. CONWAY. *Cassiar*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. x, 123. (\$2.00) The sparsely-settled Cassiar district of British Columbia is a section of about one hundred thousand square miles in the north-west part of the province. Miss Conway spent a year (1930-1) in the central and northern parts of the Cassiar and her book is a series of brief, clear-cut impressions which, taken as a whole, give a significant and typical picture of the country.

The stubborn north (Saturday night, Aug. 25, 1934, 3). Side-lights on the Telegraph Creek district of British Columbia.

(6) **North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions**

BARTLETT, Captain "BOB". *Sails over the ice*. With a foreword by LAWRENCE PERRY. New York, London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Pp. xii, 301. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

CÔTÉ, LOUIS-PHILIPPE. *Visions du Labrador*. (L'âme canadienne.) Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1934. Pp. 173. (75 cents) M. Albert Lévesque is to be congratulated on the many interesting historical and descriptive books and series on Canada which he is publishing. This little volume on Labrador deals, in three parts, with the wild life, the people, and the missionaries of the country.

CROUSE, NELLIS M. *The search for the Northwest Passage*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. 533. (\$4.00) Reviewed on page 83.

FOSCUE, EDWIN J. *The development and decline of Skagway, Alaska* (Economic geography, X (4), Oct., 1934, 419-28).

IV. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

The aboriginal races of Canada (Quebec, VII (10), Nov., 1932, 234). A brief résumé of the numbers and status of the Indians and Eskimo of Canada.

RICHEL, OTTO. *Über Mongolenfalte und Indianerfalte* (Verhandlungen des XXIV Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, Sept., 1930; Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1934, 41). Since the fold commonly found in the eye of the American Indian and the true "Mongol" fold of Asiatics are not identical, the two races must have been separated for an extremely long period for this differentiation to have taken place.

ALEXANDER, G. *Zur Kenntnis des Schläfenbeines des amerikanischen Indianers nebst Bemerkungen über Varietäten und Konstitutionsanomalien des Schläfenbeines des Europäers* (Monatsschrift für Ohrenheilkunde und Laryngo-Rhinologie, LXIV, 1930, 237-70 and 429-67).

ANDREW, B. LE M. *Possessed of the devil: Red Indian ritual in British Columbia* (Review of reviews, LXXXII (520), May 10, 1933, 49-52). A brief description of the outward aspects of a native ceremonial in northern British Columbia.

An archaeological problem solved concerning prehistoric America (Illustrated London news, CLXXXIII, Oct. 21, 1933, 655). A rare form of stone lamp from southwestern Alaska decorated with human designs is shown to be of Eskimo origin, influenced by Indian culture of northern British Columbia.

BANKS, W. J. *The Arctic patrol* (United Empire, XXV (8), Aug., 1934, 461-5). This brief and popular account of the work of the Mounted Police in the Arctic contains a few items of information about the Eskimo of to-day.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Asiatic survivals in Indian songs* (Musical quarterly, XX (1), Jan., 1934, 107-16). Funeral and other ritual songs of northern British Columbia not only resemble Mongolian Buddhist chants, but even contain Chinese words, unintelligible to the Indian singers. This appears to be positive evidence of cultural influence from Asia to America.

Songs of the northwest (Musical quarterly, XIX (1), Jan., 1933, 101-11). This article comprises a selection of North-west Coast Indian songs, including both text and music.

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *Chipewyan-Indianerne: Geografisk tilpasning og kulturel stilling* (Naturens Verden, Copenhagen, XIV, 1930).

The cultural position of the Chipewyan within the circumpolar culture region (Verhandlungen des XXIV Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, Sept., 1930; Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1934, 97-101). Chipewyan culture contains many basic elements of wide distribution

in Arctic America, a study of which throws light on interactions with such diverse groups as the Eskimo, the Cree, and the Tsimshian.

Geographical notes on the Barren Grounds. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, I (4).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1933. Pp. 132; 45 illustrations, 2 maps. Included in this valuable account of the topography and the historical-geological-geographical setting of the Barren Lands, are a large number of Eskimo place-names with their English equivalents.

Nye samlinger fra Nord-Amerikas Indianerne (Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark, Copenhagen, 1932, 43-52).

Plan for en arkæologisk ekspedition til Alaska sommeren 1933 (Geografisk Tidsskrift, XXXVI, 1933, 62-5).

BLEGEN, THEODORE C. *The Pond brothers* (Minnesota history, XV (3), Sept., 1934, 273-81). Information about Samuel William and Gideon Hollister Pond, who worked as missionaries among the Sioux or Dakota Indians of the Plains.

Blood groups and racial relationships (Nature, CXXXII (3335), Sept. 30, 1933, 524). A brief summary of the results of investigations on blood grouping among the Indians of British Columbia, carried out by R. Ruggles Gates.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Note on the Chinook jargon* (Language, IX (2), June, 1933, 208-13). The Chinook jargon of the west coast is changing rapidly, a fact which adds to the value of the songs and texts here published; this material was collected in British Columbia over forty years ago.

BURNS, HERBERT A. *Tuberculosis in the Indian* (American review of tuberculosis, XXVI, July-Dec., 1932, 498-506). The mortality rate from tuberculosis among American Indians is approximately ten times greater than among white residents of the same localities, while the infection-rate among children is likewise higher.

BUSHNELL, DAVID I., JR. *Tribal migrations east of the Mississippi*. (Smithsonian miscellaneous publications, LXXXIX (12).) Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1934. Pp. 17. By the use of archaeological and linguistic evidence, an attempt is made to reconstruct the distribution of the main Indian groups in eastern North America at different prehistoric periods.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.] *Annual report for the year ended March 31, 1934*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1934. Pp. 80. This government report gives population figures as well as statistical and general observations upon matters of health, occupation, land tenure, and resources of the Canadian Indians.

CLAY, CHARLES. *Indians as I know them* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (1), Jan., 1934, 43-50). A popular, well-illustrated account of the Swampy Cree of Manitoba.

COLLINS, HENRY B., JR. *Eskimo archaeology and somatology* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (2), April-June, 1934, 309-13). This brief, critical summary of various Eskimo problems emphasizes the wide and serious gaps in existing data.

COOPER, JOHN M. *The northern Algonquian supreme being*. (The Catholic University of America, anthropological series, no. 2.) Washington: The Catholic University of America. 1934. Pp. 78. [Printed also as: Primitive man, VI (3 and 4), July and Oct., 1933, 41-111.] Intensive field investigations among the Cree on the west side of James Bay indicate a pre-Christian belief in an anthropomorphic master deity, to whom prayers were addressed and sacrifices offered. This thesis is confirmed by study of the scanty early literature, and by unpublished data from the east side of the Bay.

CORBETT, E. A. *Blackfoot trails*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1934. Pp. viii, 139; 4 coloured plates. A summary of Blackfoot life, written for the general reader or the high-school student. It is admittedly not exhaustive, nor does it embody original research, but the author has succeeded in giving a readable, well-balanced account, in good perspective, of the major characteristics of this important Alberta tribe.

- DARBY, GEORGE E. *Indian medicine in British Columbia* (Canadian Medical Association journal, XXVIII (4), April, 1933, 433-8). The medical practices of the British Columbia coastal Indians include the use of herbs, counter-irritants, surgical means, and magic.
- DELARUE-MARDRUS, LUCIE. *Le far-west d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Fasquelle. 1932. Pp. 206; 16 illustrations. This volume contains a few observations upon the modern Indians of the western and south-western Plains as seen by a French journalist.
- DOUGLAS, F. H. *Indian linguistic stocks or families. Powell's classification and modern changes: tribes, locations and population*. (Denver Art Museum, Department of Indian Art, leaflets, 51-2.) Denver. 1933. Pp. 8.
- EDWARDS, EVERETT E. *Agriculture of the American Indians: A classified list of annotated historical references with an introduction*. (Bibliographical contributions, no. 23, ed. 2.) Washington: U.S. Department of Agriculture. 1933. Pp. xii, 106. More than a hundred items have been added in this edition.
- *American Indian contributions to civilization* (Minnesota history, XV (3), Sept., 1934, 255-72).
- EELS, WALTER CROSBY. *Educational achievement of the native races of Alaska* (Journal of applied psychology, XVII (6), Dec., 1933, 646-70).
- *Mechanical, physical, and musical ability of the native races of Alaska* (Journal of applied psychology, XVII (5), Oct., 1933, 493-506).
- *Mental ability of the native races of Alaska* (Journal of applied psychology, XVII (4), Aug., 1933, 417-38).
- These three reports summarize the results of exhaustive investigations of more than 1,100 Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut children in Alaska by means of psychological tests involving mental ability, mechanical ability, physical ability, musical ability, and educational achievement.
- EGENOLF, P. L. *Unter Mischlingen und Indianern* (Monatsblätter der Oblaten der Unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria, Zeitschrift des Marianischen Missionsverein, no. 12, Hinfeld, Hesse-Nassau, 1934, 366-72). A short illustrated article on the life of the Indians and halfbreeds in the country around Reindeer Lake with a vivid description of the hardships of missionary life in the far north.
- EICKSTEDT, EGON FREIHERR VON. *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit*. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag. 1934. Pp. viii, 936; 613 illustrations, 3 tables, 8 coloured maps. This monumental work comprises an exhaustive treatment of the races of man, embodying not only physical criteria, but biological, eugenical, and evolutionary data as well. The racial composition of the American Indian is thoroughly analysed, and the need for further research emphasized.
- ERNST, ALICE HENSON. *Masks of the Northwest Coast* (Theatre Arts Monthly, Aug., 1933, 646-56).
- FANG-KUEI LI. *Chipevyan consonants* (Studies presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on his sixty-fifth birthday (Part 1): Peiping, Academia Sinica, 1933, 429-67). This detailed linguistic study deals not only with the consonants of Chipevyan, but, by the inclusion of comparative data from other Athabaskan tribes, gives a comprehensive analysis of the probable development of Athabaskan consonants.
- FELLOWS, F. S. *Mortality in the native races of the territory of Alaska, with special reference to tuberculosis* (United States treasury department: Public health reports, XLIX (9), March 2, 1934, 289-98). Among the Indians and Eskimo of Alaska, tuberculosis stands out as one of the most serious diseases, 35 per cent. of deaths being attributed to this malady.
- FLANNERY, REGINA. *Gossip as a clue to attitudes* (Primitive man, VII (1), Jan., 1934, 8-12). Gossip is common among Cree women of James Bay and fear of unfavourable comment is a factor tending towards cultural conservatism; similarly, gossiping remarks help a stranger to understand native sentiment.

- FRIEDERICI, GEORG. *Die Frage der vorkolumbischen Einwanderung nach Amerika* (Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie, XXVII (3-4)).
- GATES, R. RUGGLES and DARBY, GEO. E. *Blood groups and physiognomy of British Columbia coastal Indians* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, LXIV, Jan.-June, 1934, 23-44). The absence of blood type B among 300 Indians from the coast of British Columbia indicates no relatively late Mongoloid infiltration to the far west.
- GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *Alleged Norse remains in America* (Antiquity, VI (24), Dec., 1932, 420-33). Careful studies, especially by Holand, of the Kensington stone found in Minnesota in 1898 show that it may well have been inscribed by members of a Norse-Swedish expedition in 1362, and not be a forgery as widely believed. Other evidence supporting this view is brought forward.
- GILLINGHAM, HARROLD E. *Indian silver ornaments* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, LVIII (2), April, 1934, 97-126). From the early part of the eighteenth century, silver ornaments, bracelets, gorgets, medals, etc., were commonly given to the Indians in eastern North America, and are accordingly cited in inventories of various expeditions of that period.
- GODSELL, PHILIP H. *The vanishing Stoney Indians* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (4), Oct., 1934, 179-88). A popular, well-illustrated description of the Assiniboine, one of the Siouan tribes of the western Plains.
- GUTHE, CARL E. (ed.) *Archaeological field work in North America 1933*. (National Research Council, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, circular series, no. 18.) National Research Council, Sept., 1934. Pp. 45. This annual survey of field investigations in North America contains summaries of important discoveries in Alaska.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Culture and mental disorder* (Journal of abnormal and social psychology, XXIX (1), April-June, 1934, 1-9). Cases of abnormal mental behaviour among the Berens River Saulteaux of Ontario and Manitoba illustrate the influence of culture upon the type of behaviour, as well as the difficulty of accurate diagnosis in terms of psychiatry.
- Some empirical aspects of Northern Saulteaux religion (American anthropologist, XXXVI (3), July-Sept., 1934, 389-404). The religious beliefs of the Pigeon River Indians (a branch of the Saulteaux or western Ojibwa) are based, not upon abstract dogma alone, but are repeatedly confirmed in the course of life by observation, dream experiences, and the miraculous performances of the conjuring lodge.
- HILL-TOU, CHARLES. *Revelations of the stone age in North America: Relics on old Indian camp-sites in the middle Columbia River region, astoundingly rich in artifacts* (Illustrated London news, CLXXV (4983), Oct. 20, 1934, 608-11). Excavations along the middle Columbia River have revealed extremely rich archaeological deposits, characterized by weaving, by work in shell and copper, and particularly by the high development of craftsmanship in stone. The makers were probably the longer-headed type who preceded the Salish in southern British Columbia.
- HOWAY, F. W. *Authorship of "Traits of Indian life"* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXV (1), March, 1934, 42-9). Analysis of internal evidence indicates that the anonymous author of *Traits of American Indian life and character* was Peter Skene Ogden.
- JENKS, ALBERT ERNEST. *Minnesota Pleistocene homo: An interim communication* (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, XIX (1), Jan., 1933, 1-6). In 1931 there was found in Minnesota a skeleton having generalized Mongoloid, but not specialized Indian, characteristics; it appears to have been in undisturbed late Pleistocene strata, proving an infiltration to America from Asia before the last glaciation.

- JENNESS, DIAMOND (ed.). *The American aborigines, their origin and antiquity: A collection of papers by ten authors.* (Published for presentation at the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Canada, 1933.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1933. Pp. 396. Reviewed on pp. 434-5, vol. XV (4).
- Fading scenes on Quatsino Inlet* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (2), Feb., 1934, 88-97). Relics of the rich cultural life of the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island are shown in the excellent illustrations of this article.
- The Indians of Canada.* (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 65.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1932. Pp. x, 446; 132 illustrations, 1 map. Reviewed on pp. 318-20, vol. XV (3).
- Indian Vikings of the North-west Coast* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (5), May, 1934, 235-46). The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands were outstanding in sea-faring ability and in art; to-day their culture is in decline and their handicrafts must be seen in museums.
- Myths of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia* (Journal of American folk-lore, XLVII (184-5), April-Sept., 1934, 97-257). This important collection comprises eighty-two legends, recorded in English but following closely the Carrier text. The material includes hero-tales, accounts of mythical monsters, and an assortment of trickster stories; the whole is probably representative of Carrier mythology.
- The vanished Red Indians of Newfoundland* (Canadian geographical journal, VIII (1), Jan., 1934, 27-32). In this brief, popular article, it is suggested that the extinct Beothuk were a specialized branch of the Algonkians, who may have migrated to Newfoundland from Labrador.
- JOYCE, T. A. *Totem-pole from the Nass River, British Columbia* (British Museum quarterly, IX (1), Sept., 1934, 8). The British Museum has recently acquired a Niska totem-pole with carvings of which the significance is briefly explained.
- KROEBER, A. L. *Native American population* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (1), Jan.-March, 1934, 1-25). The aboriginal population of America, north of Mexico, was probably about 900,000, with areas of greatest density on the west coast in general, and the south-west; the horticultural eastern regions were sparsely inhabited. The author discusses Indian population in the light of geography and economics, with comparisons to conditions in Mexico, South America, and the United States to-day.
- KROHN, E. *Die Wohnung der Eskimo* (Pädagogische Warte, Osterwieck-a-Harz, XXXVIII (4), 1931, 154-5).
- LAGUNA, FEDERICA DE. *The archaeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska.* [With a chapter on skeletal material by OETTEKING, BRUNO.] Philadelphia: The University Museum. 1934. Pp. 263; 72 plates. Cook Inlet, in south-western Alaska, is now inhabited by Athabascan-speaking Indians, but was formerly occupied by Eskimo. 4,700 archaeological specimens unearthed by reconnaissance and exploration work during three seasons disclose four distinct periods; the basis is a generalized, though complex, Eskimo culture, influenced both by Kamchatka and North-western Coastal British Columbia. The material is admirably described and illustrated, followed by a discussion of its relationship to other Eskimo cultures, and an analysis of the skeletal remains. This is an important contribution to the early history of Alaska.
- Peintures rupestres Eskimo* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXV (1), Paris, 1933, 17-30). In inaccessible rock shelters at four points on Cook Inlet, south-west Alaska, there have been found silhouette paintings, somewhat reminiscent of European palaeolithic art. The depictions were probably made by earlier Eskimo occupants of the area, and may have had significance in secret ceremonials.
- Vorgeschichtliche Eskimokunst in Alaska* (Die Umschau, XXXVIII (17), 1934).
- LEDEN, CHRISTIAN. *Bei den Kap-York-Eskimos* (Die Koralle, Berlin, IV (8), 1928, 385-90).
- Besuch bei den Smithsund-Eskimos* (Die Gartenlaube, Berlin, XXXI (2), 1931, 40-2).

- _____. *Eiszeitmenschen von heute (Eskimos)* (Die Gartenlaube, Berlin, XXXI (33), 1931, 677-80).
- _____. *Eskimo-Duelle* (Rythmus, Kassel, III, 1930, 87-9).
- _____. *Eskimo-Ehen* (Reclams Universum, Leipzig, XLVI (15), 1930, 308-10).
- _____. *Kultur und Begabung der Eskimo* (Die Gartenlaube, Berlin, XXVIII (30), 1928, 623-6).
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Dental caries in prehistoric skulls from Canada* (Dominion dental journal, XLVI (2), Feb., 1934, 35-8). An examination of more than 5,000 teeth indicates that caries was limited in prehistoric times to those areas in Ontario and Quebec where horticulture was practised and where, accordingly, the diet consisted largely of soft foods.
- LEHMANN, WALTER. *Die Frage völkerkundlicher Beziehungen zwischen der Südsee und Amerika* (Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, XXXIII (5), 1930, 321-40).
- LESSER, ALEXANDER. *The Pawnee ghost dance hand game: A study of cultural change.* (Columbia University contributions to anthropology, XVI.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. x, 338; 3 illustrations, 13 text figures. In 1888 there developed among the Plains Indians, the "Ghost Dance", a cult based upon the hope that by returning to practices of their ancestors the bison would be replenished, the white man would disappear, and a golden age would dawn. This made an overpowering appeal to the Pawnee, who had suffered even more than most of the neighbouring tribes. They re-adopted many of their former customs, which, however, became altered and blended with new ideas. Among these was the Hand Game, originally a gambling game, which developed into a religious ceremonial, with even the ritualism characteristic of the Pawnee. Its analysis has, accordingly, a wide significance as a study of cultural assimilation.
- LOCHER, G. W. *The serpent in Kwakiutl religion: A study in primitive culture.* Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1932. Pp. viii, 118. This volume is an attempt to systematize and explain Kwakiutl religion and mythology in terms of a logical whole, based on the assumed coherence of their culture.
- LYFORD, CARRIE A. *Sioux beadwork.* Washington: United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs. 1933. Pp. 27. This pamphlet has been prepared for the benefit of those teaching Indian, and especially Sioux, children. It contains a careful summary of information about beadwork, both in regard to technique and design, and makes, with its excellent illustrations, a very useful publication.
- MACLEOD, WILLIAM CHRISTIE. *Mortuary and sacrificial anthropophagy on the North-west Coast of North America and its culture-historical sources* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXV (2), 1933, 335-66). The author believes that the well-known Cannibal dance of the Kwakiutl and other tribes of the North-west Coast consists of a loosely blended union of at least three archaic culture elements of wider distribution.
- _____. *The nature, origin, and linkages of the rite of hook-swinging: With special reference to North America* (Anthropos, XXIX (1-2), Jan.-April, 1934, 1-38). In India and in several parts of North America rituals occur in which the performer is swung on thongs passed through perforations in the flesh; the author believes that these practices have a common origin and that several other types of bodily mutilation are derivatives.
- MARTIN, PAUL S. *The bow-drill in North America* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (1), Jan.-March, 1934, 94-7). The occurrence of the bow-drill is well known among the Eskimo and many of the northern Canadian tribes, in the latter case probably introduced from Europe; but new light is thrown on the problem by the finding of a specimen in a pre-Columbian site in Utah.
- MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *Ancient Eskimo settlements in the Kangâmiut area.* (Meddelelser om Grønland, Bd. 91, no. 1.) Copenhagen: 1931. Pp. 149; 42 figures,

8 plates. This comprehensive report of archaeological work in south-west Greenland illustrates the development of Eskimo culture between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, the dating being relatively precise on account of European objects in the deposits.

Fundene fra Inugsuk (Naturens Verden, Copenhagen, XIV, 1930, 114-23).

Inugsuk, a mediaeval Eskimo settlement in Upernivik district, West Greenland (Meddelelser om Grønland, LXXVII, 1930, 147-339). Careful archaeological investigations in north-west Greenland have disclosed a late, and somewhat specialized, Thule culture similar to that found at Cape York; associated with it are thirteenth- and fourteenth-century European objects, giving a datable chronology for the Thule culture in this area at least.

Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos. (Meddelelser om Grønland, XCII (4).) Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel. 1933. Pp. 158; 64 figures, 11 plates. Archaeological investigations in east Greenland show that the early culture of the highly specialized Angmagssalik Eskimo had many points in common with certain early west Greenland forms, and even with distinctive elements from Baffin Land.

The present stage of Eskimo archaeology (Acta archaeologica, II, 1931, 185-99).

MICHELSON, TRUMAN. *Algonquiana parerga* (International journal of American linguistics, VIII (1), Dec., 1933, 39-44). This study of Algonkian linguistic peculiarities includes many examples from the Ojibwa and Cree of Ontario.

Maiden sacrifice among the Ojibwa (American anthropologist, XXXVI (4), Oct.-Dec., 1934, 628-9). Two early writers have brief references to human sacrifice among the Ojibwa, and it is possible that a similar custom prevailed among the Huron.

MIKKELSEN, EJNAR. *De Østgrønlandske Eskimoers historie.* Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1934. Pp. 202; 15 plates, 1 map. This geographical-historical account of the Eskimo of east Greenland, with descriptions of their settlements, contains much material of value in a comparative study of the Eskimo as a whole.

MORICE, A. G. *L'homme primitif: ancien et moderne* (Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa, II (4), Oct.-Dec., 1932, 473-502).

Technologie primitive (Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa, III (1), Jan.-March, 1933, 72-97).

Technologie secondaire (Revue de L'Université d'Ottawa, III (3), July-Sept., 1933, 336-63). These three descriptive essays on both material and spiritual aspects of primitive culture are full of illustrations drawn from the Canadian Indians, many of them from the author's long experience among the Athabascans of the north-west.

MORTIER, F. *L'expansion chinoise. Le pays de Fou-Sang est-il l'Amérique?* (Bulletin de la Société des Américanistes de Belgique, Dec., 1930, 22-32).

MURDOCK, GEORGE PETER. *Kinship and social behaviour among the Haida* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (3), July-Sept., 1934, 355-85). This outstanding account of Haida (Queen Charlotte Islands) kinship terminology is one of the most comprehensive studies of the kind ever published. The terms are given in detail, as well as the precise sociological functions pertinent to the individuals so designated.

Our primitive contemporaries. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xxiv, 614; frontispiece and 117 illustrations. This volume is a series of well-balanced and ably presented descriptions of native life and culture in various parts of the world; among the tribes described are the Polar Eskimo, the Haida, and the Iroquois.

NIEUWENHUIS, A. W. *Die dualistische Kultur in Amerika.* (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie; supplement zu Band XXXII.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1933. Pp. 150. This comprehensive paper discusses both dual organization as a social

practice, and dualism as a philosophical concept, in the two Americas. Each is studied in the light of historical and cultural spread.

Urformen des naturwissenschaftlichen Denkens und der Naturauffassung auf dem amerikanischen Festlande. (Janus, XXXVII, sonderdruck.) Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1933. Pp. 156. This is a comprehensive summing-up of Indian beliefs concerning soul, spirit, and nature in general.

OBERG, KALERVO. *Crime and punishment in Tlingit society* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (2), April-June, 1934, 145-56). Among the Tlingit of the Alaskan panhandle, crime must be settled in terms of the clan of the offender and the injured party, although the actual punishment varies according to the rank of the individuals concerned. The importance of the clan, the dominant social group, is apparent not only in criminal, but in shameful acts, the effects of which extend far beyond the actual perpetrator.

ODELL, N. E. *The mountains of northern Labrador* (Geographical journal, LXXXII (3), Sept., 1933, 193-210). Quartzite implements found at reputed Tunnit (early Eskimo) sites in northern Labrador show resemblances to artifacts of the Red Paint culture of Maine.

OETTEKING, BRUNO. *Anthropomorphologische Beziehungen zwischen der Osterinsel und Amerika* (Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, XXXIV, [Festband Eugen Fischer], 1934, 303-13). A skull from Easter Island has resemblances to certain American crania, suggesting a common element in the racial history of both areas.

OSGOOD, CORNELIUS. *Kutchin tribal distribution and synonymy* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (2), April-June, 1934, 168-79). Confusion has long prevailed concerning the tribal divisions and synonymy of the Athabaskan peoples of the Yukon and Alaska; the author locates eight Kutchin tribes, each having distinct cultural characteristics, and gives the principal terms by which they have been previously designated.

Tanaina culture (American anthropologist, XXXV (4), Oct.-Dec., 1933, 695-717). The Tanaina are an Athabaskan tribe resident around Cook Inlet, Alaska, who have replaced the Eskimo relatively recently. Geographical conditions have modified their material culture, and they have been influenced both by the Eskimo and the Indians of the North-west Coast.

PECK, M. A. *Handicrafts from coast to coast* (Canadian geographical journal, IX (4), Oct., 1934, 201-16). Among the handicrafts illustrated are examples of Indian work from various parts of Canada.

PETERS, HERMANN B. *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Grönland Expedition Alfred Wegener 1929 und 1930-1931. VI: Anthropology und Zoology.* Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1933. Pp. viii, 196; illustrations and sketch-maps. The anthropological results of Wegener's expedition comprise somatological and dermatological studies of the Angmagssalik Eskimo, and archaeological investigations near Scoresby Sound; these are recorded by Peters, Abel, Kranz, and Preuss.

PRESSEY, SIDNEY L. and LUELLA C. *A comparative study of the emotional attitudes and interests of Indian and white children* (Journal of applied psychology, XVII (3), June, 1933, 227-38). Psychological investigations of non-intellectual traits in various parts of the United States indicate that Indian children are less advanced than white children of the same age.

PRICE, WESTON A. *Why dental caries with modern civilizations? X. Field studies among primitive and modernized Eskimos of Alaska* (Dental digest, XL (6), June, 1934, 210-3). The teeth of Eskimo who subsist on their native diet are remarkably strong, regular, and free from disease, whereas the incidence of caries increases in proportion to the amount of European food consumed.

Why dental caries with modern civilizations? VII. Field studies of modernized American Indians in Ontario, Manitoba, and New York (Dental digest, XL (2), Feb., 1934, 52-8). Dental caries is very common among both Iroquois and

Algonkian Indians living under modern conditions in southern Ontario, whereas it is less prevalent in the more isolated areas of north-western Ontario.

Why dental caries with modern civilizations? VIII. Field studies of modernized Indians in twenty communities of the Canadian and Alaskan Pacific coast (Dental digest, XL (3), March, 1934, 81-4). The teeth of prehistoric Indians of the Pacific coast, whose food was almost entirely sea products, show little caries, as do those members of the population to-day who cling to the older diet, whereas those Indians who live largely on European foods are decidedly carious.

RASMUSSEN, KNUD. *Die Eskimofrau* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, Leipzig, XLIII (1), 1928, 65-72).

Eskimoiske Sind og Grønlandske Sæder (Naturens Verden, Copenhagen, XII, 1928).

Eskimo, Steinzeitmenschen und—wir (Der Schönmeyer Monatshefte, Bremen, 1928, 1116-28).

Explorations in southeastern Greenland: Preliminary report of the Sixth and Seventh Thule Expeditions (Geographical review, XXIII (3), July, 1933, 385-93). Explorations between Cape Farewell and Angmagssalik disclosed rich archaeological deposits, indicating a denser Eskimo population than at present.

Festens gave. Eskimoiske Alaska-Aventyr. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1929. Pp. 214.

Intellectual culture of the Copper Eskimos. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-4, IX.) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1932. Pp. 350; 33 plates, 85 text figures. To be reviewed later.

The Netsilik Eskimos: Social life and spiritual culture. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-4, VIII (1).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1931. Pp. ii, 1-464; 72 plates, 3 text figures. Reviewed on page 89.

Observations on the intellectual culture of the Caribou Eskimos. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-4, VII (2).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1930. Pp. 116. To be reviewed later.

South-east Greenland: The Seventh Thule expedition 1932. From Cape Farewell to Umanik (Geografisk Tidsskrift, XXXVI, 1933, 35-43).

South-east Greenland. The Sixth Thule expedition, 1931, from Cape Farewell to Angmagssalik (Geografisk Tidsskrift, XXXV, 1932, 169-97).

The Utkuhikjalingmiut. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-4, VIII (2).) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1931. Pp. 465-550; 16 plates. Reviewed on page 89.

REAGAN, ALBERT B. *The O-Ge-Che-Dah or Head-Men dance of the Bois Fort Indians* (Americana, XXVIII (3), 1934, 302-6).

RÉMY, PAUL. *La chasse aux oiseaux chez les Esquimaux du Groënland oriental* (Alauda, Dijon, II, 1930, 57-66).

RENAUD, E. B. *Ressemblances des cultures préhistoriques de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde* (Revue anthropologique, XLIII (10-12), Oct.-Dec., 1933, 468-76). In different parts of North America there have been found archaeological specimens almost identical with every type of the Palaeolithic Age in Europe; these lack, on the whole, chronological sequence, and there is no evidence of cultural homogeneity with the Old World.

RICKARD, T. A. *Drift iron: A fortuitous factor in primitive culture* (Geographical review, XXIV (4), Oct., 1934, 525-43). Early explorers have commented upon occasional iron implements used by the Eskimo and the natives of the south Pacific; these have usually been explained by direct contact with European vessels, but in many cases the iron may have been obtained from nail-studded driftwood or even harpoons carried by wounded whales.

RYMILL, J. R. *Watkins' kayak* (Geographical journal, LXXXII (6), Dec., 1933, 539-41). This is a brief description of a Greenland Eskimo kayak and equipment recently set up in the museum of the Royal Geographical Society; it was the one presumably used by Watkins at the time of his death.

- SAINDON, J. EMILE. *Two Cree songs from James Bay* (Primitive man, VII (1), Jan., 1934, 6-7). This article gives the words and music of two of the few surviving Cree songs from the James Bay area.
- ST. JOHN, MRS. R. MONRO. *Whence came the North American Indian?* (Illustrated London news, CLXXXV (4993), Dec. 29, 1934, 1088-9). The kitchen-middens of southern British Columbia contain skeletons not only of the modern Indian, but of an earlier, long-headed type as well; plastic reconstructions of the facial portions of the latter emphasize the different appearance of the two forms.
- SALT, A. E. W. *The lost song* (Cornhill magazine, CXLI (893), May, 1934, 545-9). A woman's song, used at ceremonials by the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, is shown to be an eighteenth-century English ballad, perhaps introduced to the Indians by a deserter from Vancouver's expedition of 1791-4.
- SAPPER, KARL. *Der Kulturzustand der Indianer vor der Berührung mit den Europäern und in der Gegenwart* (Verhandlungen des XXIV Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, Sept., 1930; Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1934, 73-96). This is an ethno-geographical study of Indian culture and comparisons in North and South America, with observations upon the changes that have taken place as a result of European contact.
- SCHMIDT, W. *High gods in North America*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1933. Pp. viii, 150. This volume of Pater Schmidt's Upton lectures at Manchester College, Oxford, consists of an abridged version of his views on the importance of high gods among the Salish and Algonkian Indians, whom he regards as the earliest of the aborigines to reach America.
- *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee V. Nachträge zu den Religionen der Urvölker Amerikas, Asiens, und Australiens*. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1934. Pp. xxxviii, 921. Pater Schmidt's thesis is that many of the most primitive peoples of the world have faiths and customs which illustrate the earliest form of religion, the belief in a high God; included in this volume are the concepts of the Salish of British Columbia and of several Algonkian tribes.
- SELTZER, CARL C. *The anthropometry of the Western and Copper Eskimos, based on data of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (with an introduction by Vilhjalmur Stefansson.) (Human biology, V (3), Sept., 1933, 313-70). This important paper gives the measurements, taken on the living, of 526 adult Eskimo from six localities between Alaska and Coronation Gulf, with conclusions on Eskimo affinities as a whole. The data were collected between 1906 and 1912.
- SMITH, MAURICE G. *American Indian tribal names* (American speech, V (2), Dec., 1929, 114-7). Many of the Indian tribal names now current are mispronunciations or misapplications of native terms, while others are designations, often derogatory, applied by members of other tribes.
- SPENDER, MICHAEL. *The Sixth and Seventh Thule expeditions of Knud Rasmussen* (Geographical journal, LXXXIII (2), Feb., 1934, 140-2). The Sixth and Seventh Thule Expeditions in south-east Greenland were devoted to topographical and archaeological work, together with the filming of records of Eskimo life.
- STEGGERDA, MORRIS. *Cephalic index among North American Indians* (Eugenical news, XVII (2), March-April, 1932, 35-7).
- *Statures of North American Indians* (Eugenical news, XVII (1), Jan.-Feb., 1932, 1-11). These two papers give data on the variations among the Indians of the characteristics in question.
- STERN, BERNHARD J. *The Lummi Indians of northwest Washington*. (Columbia University contributions to anthropology, XVII.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. 127; plates 6. The Coast Salish of southern British Columbia and northern Washington came in contact with Europeans so early that

much of their culture was lost before being recorded by scientific observers. The Lummi of the islands of Puget Sound and the adjacent eastern mainland have been less affected than many of their neighbours, which gives added value to this excellent monograph. They are a fishing and hunting people, with concepts of rank unusually highly developed for a tribe of the southern part of the North-west Coast, while their religious and ceremonial life centres around an individual guardian spirit, reminiscent of the interior tribes. The volume is well arranged, but is obviously no more than an outline of a rich culture which has vanished beyond recall.

STEWART, T. D. *Sequence of epiphyseal union, third molar eruption and suture closure in Eskimos and American Indians* (American journal of physical anthropology, XIX (3), Oct.-Dec., 1934, 433-52). A study of Eskimo and Indian skeletons indicates that the union of epiphyses tends to follow a constant order, which may differ from that of other racial groups.

STICKER, G. *Die Einschleppung europäischer Krankheiten in Amerika während der Entdeckungszeit: ihr Einfluss auf den Rückgang der Bevölkerung* (Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, VI, 1932, 62-83 and 194-224).

STRONG, W. D. *North American Indian traditions suggesting a knowledge of the mammoth* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (1), Jan.-March, 1934, 81-8). There are vague, but widespread, stories in different parts of North America, particularly the north-east, of enormous animals with elephant-like characteristics; these are probably explicable in terms of the contemporaneity of the Indian and the mammoth, of which verbal traditions have been transmitted through many generations.

SUK, V. *Congenital pigment spots in Eskimo children* (Anthropologie, Prague, VI (1), 1928, 1-34). The occurrence of evanescent congenital spots (the "Mongol spot") among Eskimo children in north Labrador is recorded, with comments on the wide distribution of this characteristic and its probable antiquity in the history of human development.

— *On the occurrence of syphilis and tuberculosis amongst Eskimos and mixed breeds of the north coast of Labrador* (Spisy Vydávané Přírodovědeckou Fakultou Masarykovy University, Cis. 84.) Brno: A. Písa. 1927. Pp. 18. Foreign diseases and changed conditions of life and food are proving deadly to the Eskimo and mixed population of northern Labrador; the most fatal are venereal disease and tuberculosis, both of which appear to have been introduced within the last fifty years.

SUTTON, GEORGE MIKSCH. *Eskimo year: A naturalist's adventures in the far north*. New York: The Macmillan Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. xiv, 321; 42 illustrations. This interesting account by a naturalist of a year's sojourn on Southampton Island contains considerable information about the present mode of life of the Avilik Eskimo, who have settled there since the disappearance of the Sadlermiut.

TCHERNIAKOVSKY, P. and LE MEHAUTE, P. J. *La question des groupes sanguins chez les Esquimaux: Quelques déterminations chez des indigènes de race pure (côté est de Groenland)* (Revue anthropologique, XLIV (1-3), janv.-mars, 1934, 61-70). Investigation among apparently unmixed Greenland Eskimo shows the presence of all four blood groups.

THALBITZER, WILLIAM. *Eskimoiske stednavne fra Alaska og Grønland set i arkeologiens lys* (Geografisk Tidsskrift, XXXV, 1932, 137-55).

VESTAL, STANLEY. *New sources of Indian history—1850-1891*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1934. Pp. xxii, 351. This volume comprises a series of documents, few of them previously published, on the Ghost Dance and the Sitting Bull campaign, followed by verbal accounts and data from Indian and other eyewitnesses. It thus gives a broad picture of the background of the troubles of 1890, primarily from the Sioux point of view.

VIERKANDT, A. *Eskimo-Duelle* (Die Koralie, Berlin, V (10), 1930, 457-60).

- VOSY-BOURBON, H. *L'ethnologie de l'Amérique du Nord et la Société des Américanistes de Paris (1920-30)* (XVe Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique (suite): Ve Session de l'Institut International d'Anthropologie: Paris, E. Nourry, 1933, 686-7). A brief summary of the contributions to the study of North American anthropology made by the Société des Américanistes de Paris.
- WASSÉN, HENRY. *The frog in Indian mythology and imaginative world* (Anthropos, XXIX (5-6), Sept.-Dec., 1934, 613-58). The frog is extremely important in the mythology and beliefs of South and Central America, and also on the North-west Coast of North America.
- WEITZNER, BELLA. *Primitive currency* (Natural history, XXXIII (3), May-June, 1933, 325-36). This account of primitive currency includes a description of the manufacture and use of wampum.
- WELLMAN, PAUL I. *Death on the prairie*. New York: The Macmillan Company. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.] 1934. Pp. xii, 298; 22 plates. The theme of this work is the struggle between white and Indian on the Plains between 1860 and 1890. It is a record, popularly written, of bloodshed and brutality, of the constant pressure of the settler and the ineffective efforts of the native to withstand the immigrant. The author paints a gruesome picture, impartially condemning both parties.
- WELLS, J. RALPH and HEINBECKER, PETER. *Immunity studies among Central and Polar Eskimos* (Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, XXVIII (9), June, 1931, 887-9). The Eskimo of north Baffin Land appear to react in the same manner as other groups to the mechanism of diphtheria immunization.
- The respiratory flora of Eskimos in remote northern regions (Journal of infectious diseases, L (4), 1932, 281-9). Analysis of throat smears from 115 Eskimo in Baffin Land, North Devon, Ellesmere Island, and north Greenland shows no unusual assortment of respiratory micro-organisms.
- WEST, GEORGE A. *Tobacco, pipes and smoking customs of the American Indians, Parts I & II*. (Bulletin of the Public Museum of the city of Milwaukee, XVII.) Milwaukee: The North American Press. June 11, 1934. Pp. 994; 257 plates, 17 figures, 19 maps. To be reviewed later.
- WEYER, EDWARD MOFFAT, JR. *The Eskimos*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. xviii, 491; 4 maps. Reviewed on pp. 211-2, vol. XV (2).
- WISSLER, CLARK. *The rebirth of the "Vanishing American"* (Natural history, XXXIV (5), Sept., 1934, 415-30). Throughout practically all of Canada and the United States, Indian contact with the white men resulted in conflict, armed or economic, followed by settlement of the natives on reserves; it is estimated that the aboriginal population diminished by 40 per cent. through these causes, but since about 1890 it has been increasing.
- WOODS, CARTER A. *A criticism of Wissler's North American culture areas* (American anthropologist, XXXVI (4), Oct.-Dec., 1934, 517-23). A quantitative study of the data concerning North American culture areas shows that, within each area, non-material culture elements were not homogeneous, and that even material culture was less uniform than usually assumed.

